



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at

at <http://books.google.com>

Prof. Dr. J. Grimm
Prof. Dr. W. Grimm
Prof. Dr. J. Grimm

A
COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR
OF THE
INDO-GERMANIC LANGUAGES.

Da muss sich manches Rätsel lösen
Doch manches Rätsel knüpft sich auch.

Goethe.

415
B 891a
V. 2
c. 2

TO

JOHN PEILE,

DOCTOR OF LETTERS, MASTER OF CHRIST'S COLLEGE, THE FOUNDER OF THE
STUDY OF COMPARATIVE PHILOLOGY IN CAMBRIDGE

THIS TRANSLATION IS DEDICATED

IN TOKEN OF THEIR GRATITUDE AND AFFECTION

BY

HIS OLD PUPILS.

Slavonic apostles Cyril and Methodius. We hesitated for some time between 'Welsh' and 'Cymric', but decided on the whole to keep the latter in conformity with the first volume. The Corrections and Additions of the German edition are embodied in the text, together with several other minor alterations, mainly of misprints, which Prof. Brugmann has sent us. To him we would offer our hearty thanks for his constant help in matters of difficulty. We owe to Dr. Wright's courtesy a list of Corrigenda in Volume I.

The translation is a joint work throughout, but Mr. Conway is everywhere responsible for its final form, as Mr. Rouse will be in the remaining volumes, which we hope will follow the parts of the German edition as they appear, at much shorter intervals than has been possible so far.

The present volume has demanded a year's continuous work and a good deal of anxious consideration from us both. But we shall be more than rewarded if it can do anything to extend the share which English-speaking students can claim in the marvellous increase of exact knowledge which the book itself records. It is the boast of modern discovery to have made the world more thinkable and human life more full of meaning in a thousand ways; and before the century reaches its close, Comparative Philology, that is, the History of Language, will have attained no mean rank in the great sisterhood of sciences whose task is to explore the history of man.

R. SEYMOUR CONWAY.

W. H. D. ROUSE.

CAMBRIDGE, Aug. 1. 1890.

CORRIGENDA.

VOLUME I.

P. 112 l. 6 Read *the variation* instead of *the opposite*.

P. 350 last line but one. Remove the comma after *cases*.

P. 529 Rem. 2 l. 2. Read *velars palatals and dentals* instead of *lingual palatals*.

See also the footnotes to pp. 118, 167, 274, 367, 432, 434, 441 in Vol. II.

VOLUME II.

P. 153 l. 5 read *should perhaps* for *must ultimately*.

CONTENTS OF VOLUME II.

	Page.
PREFACE TO THE ORIGINAL EDITION	VII
TRANSLATORS' PREFACE	IX
CORRIGENDA	XIV
MORPHOLOGY (STEM-FORMATION AND INFLEXION).	
Introductory Remarks (§§ 1-8)	1
Stem-Formation and Inflexion of Nouns (and Pronouns).	
Preliminary Observation (§ 9)	21
Noun-composition (Compound Nouns).	
<i>Form of the compounds.</i>	
Division into four classes (§ 10)	21
Indo-Germanic (§§ 11-19)	23
Aryan (§§ 20-27)	37
Armenian (§ 28)	45
Greek (§§ 29-32)	46
Italic (§§ 33-36)	57
Old Irish (§§ 37-39)	64
Germanic (§§ 40-44)	69
Balto-Slavonic (§§ 45-47)	78
<i>Meaning of the compounds (§§ 48-50)</i>	87
Reduplicated Nouns (§§ 51-54)	94
Nouns with Formative Suffixes.	
<i>General Remarks (§§ 55-58)</i>	101
I. <i>Suffixes in -o- and -ā-.</i>	
General Remarks (§ 59)	109
The Suffix -o- -ā- (§ 60). -i <u>u</u> -o- -i <u>u</u> -ā- (§ 61). -tr-o- -tr-ā-; -tl-o-	
-tl-ā- (§ 62)	109
The Suffix -io- -iā-, -i <u>o</u> - -i <u>ā</u> - (§ 63)	122
The Suffix -uo- -uā-, -u <u>u</u> -o- -u <u>u</u> -ā- (§ 64)	133
The Suffixes -no- -nā- - <u>no</u> - - <u>nā</u> - and -eno- -enā-, -ono- -onā-	
(§§ 65-67)	138
The Suffixes -ino- -inā- -i <u>no</u> - -i <u>nā</u> - and -a <u>i</u> no- -a <u>i</u> nā- (§ 68)	155

The Suffix <i>-ment-</i> (§ 127)	404
VIII. The Suffix <i>-d-</i> (<i>-ad-</i>) (§ 128)	407
IX. The Suffix <i>-k-</i> and <i>-g-</i> (§ 129)	410
X. The Suffix <i>-g-</i> (<i>and -g-?</i>) (§ 130)	411
XI. Suffixes in <i>-s</i> .	
The Suffix <i>-es-</i> (§§ 131-133)	411
The Suffix <i>-s-</i> (<i>-s-</i> , <i>-i-s-</i> , <i>-u-s-</i>) (§ 134)	424
The Suffix <i>-ies-</i> (<i>-ies-</i>) (§ 135)	426
The Suffix <i>-ya-</i> (§ 136)	438
<i>Meaning conveyed by the Suffixes. Nouns classified from this point of view.</i>	
General Remarks (§ 137)	447
Adjectives.	
Preliminary Observation (§ 138)	448
Adjectives with Comparative Meaning (§ 139)	449
Verbal Adjectives (§ 140)	451
Denominative Adjectives (§ 141)	453
With Diminutival Meaning (§ 142)	455
Adjectives with primary suffixes whose original meaning cannot be defined (§ 143)	455
The Relation of Adjectives to Participles (§ 144)	456
Substantives denoting material things or persons (Concrete Substantives).	
Male and Female Sex (§ 145)	458
Names of Kinship (§ 146)	458
Names of Animals (§ 147)	458
Names of Parts of the Body (§ 148)	459
<i>Nomina agentis</i> (§ 149)	459
<i>Nomina instrumenti</i> (§ 150)	460
<i>Nomina loci</i> (§ 151)	461
Collective Substantives (§ 152)	462
Diminutives and Pet-names (§ 153)	463
The Relation of Adjectives to concrete Substantives (§ 154)	463
Substantives denoting an activity or state (<i>Nomina actionis</i>).	
Verbal Abstract Nouns (§ 155)	464
The Relation of the <i>Nomina actionis</i> to the Infinitive Supine	467
Substantives denoting a quality (Abstract Substantives or the <i>Nomina qualitatis</i>) (§ 157)	472
The Relation of Adjectives to Abstract Substantives (<i>Nomina qualitatis</i>) or Substantives which denote a quality formed with the same suffix (§ 158)	477
Roots without Formative Suffixes. Root-Names.	
General Remarks (§ 159)	478
Root-Names uncomponounded (§§ 160-161)	478
The <i>Nomina actionis</i> as Infinitives (§ 162)	480
Root-Names as the first members of Compounds (§ 163)	481

words contains *-sko-* (cp. Osthoff, *Zur Gesch. d. Perf.* 606; Baunack, *Kuhn's Ztschr.* XXVII 561 ff.).

Germanic. O.H.G. *forsca eisca reusc* Goth. *-malsk-s* see above p. 275. O.H.G. *frosk* O.Icel. *frosk-r* 'frog' for pr. Germ. **fruz-ska-*, cp. A.S. *frozga* 'frog'. —

Here must be classed the secondary adjectival suffix. Germ. *-iska-*, Lith. *-iszka-*, Slav. *-isko-*. It denotes origin and connexion, or fitness and quality.

Germ. Goth. *judaivisk-s* 'Jewish', *piudisk-s* 'ēþvaxōs' O.H.G. *diutisc* 'German'; O.H.G. *frencisc* 'Frankish', Goth. *mannisk-s* 'human', *gudisk-s* 'divine', *funisk-s* 'fiery', O.H.G. *irdisc* 'earthly', *antarisc* 'strange', *dorpsc* 'belonging to a village, rustic, clownish', *mordisc* 'murderous', *altisc* 'old'.

Lith. *prūsizska-s* 'Prussian', *lētūvizska-s* 'Lithuanian', *dėcizska-s* 'divine', *tėvizska-s* 'fatherly', *daūgiszka-s* 'heavenly'; substantives are formed from it by *-jo-*, e. g. *namiszkī-s* m. *namiszkē* f., 'member of a household', *mūsiszki-s* 'one who is ours', *Klāipėdiszki-s* 'inhabitant of Memel', *tėciskē* 'patrimony or father's house, fatherland, home', O.C.Sl. *rumīškū* 'Roman', *židoriškū* 'Jewish', *kūnėžiskū* 'princely', *dėtīškū* 'childish', *nebesīškū* 'heavenly'.

The history of this suffix involves considerable difficulty.

Remark. It may be suspected that the Balto-Slavonic suffix was borrowed from Germanic (see I § 587 Rem. 2 p. 442): in Romance indeed *-isco-* (Ital. *greghesco*, *donnesco*) was borrowed from Germanic and Slav. *-ari* Lith. *-oriu-s* came from Germ. *-aria-*. It is quite possible that it is a compound suffix *-is + ko-* (compare § 86) (cp. Skr. *arētās-ka-* *mastīška-*); and if so it would be a question whether O.H.G. *altisc* and other forms derived from adjectives did not contain the comparative stem (cp. Skr. *anīyas-kī-* p. 264). Finally it is conceivable that it is an analogical modification of Idg. *-igo-* (§ 87).

§ 91. The Suffix *-go- -ga-*. The following forms may be quoted towards proving the existence of a suffix *-go-* in præ-ethnic Indo-Germanic.

Skr. *ārbha-ga-s* 'youthful' beside *ārbha-s* *arbha-kā-s* 'small, young', *śpaṇa-m* 'horn' may be regarded as derived from a form **śpa-* Goth. *houŕn*, just as O.H.G. *scincha* f. 'hollow

Compare Skr. *-ána-* from *-ynó-* § 66 p. 142, and *-anú-* for *-ynú-* § 106.

Armenian. *srun-ē* (gen. *sruni-ē*) pl. 'shinbones, calves', compared with Lat. *crūs*.

Greek. Here the suffix is extremely rare. For *κλόνη-ς* see p. 285. *εὐ-νι-ς* 'bereft, muled' is a certain example, cp. Skr. *ā-ná-s* 'deficient in something' Goth. *v-an-s* 'absent, lacking'. But *ἔν-ς* *ὑνν-ς* 'ploughshare' (cp. Solmsen, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXIX 81), *ανάν-ς* 'rarity, want' and one or two others are very doubtful.

Italic. Lat. *Fōnēs* 'dei silvestres' (Gloss.) beside *Faunus*, Umb. *fons* (pl. *foner*) 'propitius, favens', cp. *far-ēd*; the word seems to have been originally a substantive, meaning 'favour'. Lat. *īg-ni-s* m.: Skr. *ag-ni-ś* etc. see p. 285. *pēni-s* m. f. for **pes-ni-s* beside Skr. *pās-as* Gr. *πέος* n. 'penis' (I § 570 p. 427). *amni-s* m. f. for **ab-ni-s*, compared with O.Ir. *abann* 'stream' (I § 511 p. 373). *fūni-s* m. f., *fīni-s* m. f., *crīni-s* m. f.

It is not clear how far the Adjectives in *-ni-* were brought into this class of stems merely through a secondary change of declension, cp. § 93 p. 281. *com-moini-s* *com-mūni-s* (Osc. *mūinikad* abl. 'communi' see § 87 p. 261) corresponds to Goth. *ga-māin-s* 'common' pr. Germ. **ga-majni-z*. *omni-s* for **op-ni-s*, beside *op-s* (cp. Goth. *all-s* § 66 p. 147). *ēg-ni-s*, *īni-s*, *uāni-s*, *im-māni-s*, *is-ōni-s* and others. It must not be forgotten that the uncompounded words may have been originally substantives.

Old Irish. *taib* 'a harrying, raid' for **tu-āp-ni-* or **tu-āp-ni-*, similarly *omn-ā* 'a driving, riding' passing into the analogy of the *t*-stems, see Stokes, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXVIII 290, from **af-* 'agreed', cp. I § 523 p. 380. *imach* 'harvesting' for **homp-ni-*, beside *homp-am* 'I gather, make harvest'. *gluin* 'meadow, mead'. *-ni-s* may be contained in O.Ir. *uānan* (gen. *uāni*) 'corpus, corp' Mid. Cym. *uān* + Mid. Cym. *uānan* *uānan*, which point to **uān-ā* or **uānan-s*, cp. § 117 Rom. §.

Germanic. The Substantives in *-ni-* and *-sni-* are femi-

§ 100. 1. *-ti-* in primary abstract nouns (*nominis actionis*).

The root-syllable nearly always has the vowel in its weak grade. The accent is sometimes on the suffix, sometimes on the root, and in Sanskrit and Germanic the same word often shows both, as Skr. *māti-ś* and *māti-ṣ*. O.H.G. *gi-burt* (pr. Germ. **burdi-*) and Goth. *ga-baurp-s* (pr. Germ. **būrpī-*). It is therefore probable that originally the accentuation varied in the different cases and corresponded to the different grades of the root; say nom. sing. **mēn-ti-s* nom. pl. **mytēi-es*. In the process of levelling, the weak form of the root-syllable generally prevailed, and as the same readjustment happened also in the *to*-participles (§ 70 p. 221), the two are no doubt connected. In the Slavonic infinitive, **mēn-ti-* was the type usually followed; which is due to the influence of the supine in *-tū* (§ 108).

These *ti*-stems were extended by the suffix *-en-*, and hence were formed a large class of abstract nouns in Italic and Celtic such as Lat. *men-tiō* beside *mēns*¹⁾, O.Ir. *er-mītu* 'honour'; these were not unknown even in Germanic and Greek, cp. Goth. *er-pjō* Lat. *er-tiō*, and Gr. *ἐρτίς*. Cp. § 115. In Italic and Celtic a large proportion of the *ti*-abstracts were replaced by this newer formation.

These nouns could be derived from any form which served as a verbal stem, not merely from the root (in the strict sense of the word); hence words like Skr. *vāti-tiṣ* f. 'speech' (beside part. *vāi-kt-i-s*), Lat. *monit-iō* (beside *monit-u-s*) and Gr. *ὀψάσις* f. 'seeing', Lat. *seras serentiō*. O.Ir. *serpī* 'a searching'. Lith. *seris* (O.Sl. *seriti* 'to sit').

The addition of *-s* to the stem of the rhematic present is attested as in Skr. *romanti-ti*. *romant-i-s* was no doubt a secondary development, although perhaps it may have begun even in the preceding period, as was § 70 p. 218 f.

In Old Germanic **seras* was the rhematic 'searching' form

¹⁾ The Noun *men-tiō* is sometimes distinguished from the suffix *-tiō*, Rader's *Class. and Roman.* II. 26 f.

logy caused many changes in the grade of the root-vowel. For the phenomena in Slavonic cp. Leskien, *Archiv f. Slav. Phil.* V 497 ff.

In Lithuanian we sometimes find *-s-ti-*, as *ugnā-deksti-s* beside *ugnā-dekti-s* (p. 305), cp. *dek-s-ni-s* § 95 p. 287. *-ti-* stems frequently passed into the analogy of *-ja-* and *-é-* stems, e. g. *krý-ti-s* gen. *-tės* f. and *krý-ti-s* gen. *-czo* m. 'purse-net, hoop-net', *szli-ti-s* and *szli-té* f. 'heap of sheaves'.

Infinitives of derivative verbs; Lith. *jėškó-ti* O.C.Sl. *iska-ti* 'to seek', Lith. *sėdė-ti* O.C.Sl. *sědě-ti* 'to sit'; Lith. *gany-ti* O.C.Sl. *goni-ti* 'to protect, tend'.

§ 101. 2. *-ti-* is used to form secondary abstract substantives. This use is exactly parallel to that of the participial suffix *-to-* and the abstract nominal suffix *-to-* *-ta-* (which were originally identical); both of these, as we have seen, could be added directly to noun stems in the proethnic and later periods (§ 79 p. 224 f. § 80 p. 238 ff. § 82 p. 249 ff.).

The forms which can be most confidently referred to the proethnic language are a group of abstract nouns connected with the ordinals in *-to-* (§ 81 p. 242 ff.) **penq-ti-s* f. 'fivefold character, the number five, a group of five': Skr. *pañcātī-ś*, O.Icel. *fimt*, O.C.Sl. *peŕti*; with these should no doubt be compared O.H.G. *fast* f. 'fist' pr. Germ. **funtsti-z* and O.C.Sl. *peŕti* f. 'fist' (-st- for *-kst-* as in *těste*, see I § 545 p. 399 f.), common ground-form **paŕq-sti-s*¹). Skr. *ṣaṣ-tī-ś* f. 'sixty' (a six-fold quantity', i. e. of tens), O.C.Sl. *šes-ti* f. 'a group of six'. Skr. *navā-ti-ś* 'ninety' (a nine-fold quantity' i. e. of tens) Avest. *navaiti-š* f. 'a group of nine' and 'ninety', O.Icel. *nīun-d* f. O.C.Sl. *devč-ti* f. 'a group of nine'. Skr. *daśa-ti-ś* 'a group of ten' and 'a hundred', O.Icel. *ttun-d* f. 'a group of ten', Lith. *dėszim-ti-s* f. O.C.Sl. *desč-ti* f. 'a group of ten'. These numeral forms naturally suggest

1) Cp. **pŕq-* in O.H.G. *funfu* and elsewhere (Kuhn's *Ztschr.* XXVII 193 f., Paul-Braune's *Beitr.* XII 512) and for meaning, Goth. *figgr-s* 'finger', which is doubtless connected with this numeral. — Vol. I § 249 p. 203 should be corrected accordingly.

on one's knees. become helpless'. Lat. *genu*. Goth. *kniu* (st. *kni-it-a*) 'knee' *kni-sjan* 'to kneel'.

Aryan. Skr. *par-ú-š* Avest. *pouru-* *par-ao* O.Pers. *par-u-* 'much' (I § 290 p. 231 f.): Gr. *παλ-τι-ς* etc.: see p. 312 above. Skr. *ur-ú-š* Avest. *ouru-š* 'broad' common ground-form **ur-ú-š* (I § 157 p. 141): Gr. *εἰρε-ς* 'broad' no doubt for **ē-fēr-* with prothetic *ē*: the relation of the Aryan to the Greek form is therefore the same as that of Skr. *guru-*: *-gru-*. Skr. *rj-ú-š* Avest. *er'-u-š* 'straight, right'. Skr. *prth-ú-š* Avest. *per'-p-u-š* 'broad': Gr. *πλαρ-τι-ς* etc.: see above p. 313. Skr. *vás-u-š* Avest. *vaoh-u-š* O.Pers. *vahu-* (in the proper name *vahu-ka-*) 'good', the neut. in Skr. and Avest. = 'goods': the substantival use is perhaps older than the adjectival (cp. Skr. *mádh-* p. 313): O.Ir. *fiu* 'suitable' or 'suitability' (cp. under Old Irish). Skr. *ás-ú-š* Avest. *as-u-š* 'swift': Gr. *ωκ-ι-ς* etc.: see above p. 313. Skr. *rbh-ú-š* 'clever, artistic'. *śay-ú-š* 'lying'. *dār-ú-š* 'breaking', *jay-ú-š* 'victorious', *śu-śth-ú-š* 'standing well, in good condition' (*stha-*), *táp-u-š* 'hot', *tār-u-š* 'passing through': *ci-kit-ú-š* 'skilful', *ji-gy-ú-š* 'victorious'; there are many adjectives from desiderative stems, as *di-drkš-ú-š* 'wishing to see' *ci-kits-ú-š* 'clever, crafty', *di-ts-ú-š* 'ready to give'. Avest. *driy-u-š* 'poor'. *ja-γauru-š* 'awake, watchful'.

Skr. *iš-u-š* m. f. Avest. *iš-u-š* m. 'arrow'. Skr. *ás-u-š* m. 'spirit of life' Avest. *aoh-u-š* m. 'the world, the sum of living beings', O.Pers. *au-ra-*, § 76 Rem. 1 p. 201. Skr. *bah-ú-š* m. Avest. *bāz-u-š* m. 'arm': Gr. *πῆχ-ε-ς* etc.: see above p. 313. Skr. *sindh-u-š* m. f. 'stream, Indus, region of the Indus', Avest. *hind-u-š* m. O.Pers. *hi(n)d-ū-š* 'India'. Skr. *mádh-u* n. Avest. *mad-u* n. 'sweetness, honey': Gr. *μέθ-ε*, etc.: see above, p. 313. Skr. *dār-u* n. 'wood, piece of wood, beam, plug' Avest. *dauru* n. 'wood, spear' Skr. *dār-v-t-š* *dār-v-t* 'spoon' *dr-u-* n. m. 'wood, wooden implements' m. 'tree, branch'. Avest. *dr-u-* n. 'wood, spear': Gr. *δόρυ* n. 'wood, beam, spear-shaft, spear' *δρυ-ρόμο-ς* 'cutting wood' *δρυ-α* n. *δρυ-ες* f. 'oaks', O.Ir. *daur*, gen. *daro dara*, Mod. Cymr. *deric-en* 'oak', O.Ir. *derucc* 'acorn', Goth. *triu* (st. *tr-iv-a-*) n. 'tree', Lith. *der-v-ù* f. 'pine-wood' O.C.Sl. *drěvo* n. 'tree' (pr.

from $\sqrt{a}idh-$ 'burn, be clear'. Compare also *acu-pedi-u-s* beside Skr. *ak-ú-ṣ* Gr. *ὤζυ-í-*; 'swift'. The other Latin forms of this class have gone over to the *i*-declension: *grat-i-s*, *ten-u-i-s*, *sudri-s* for **syād-y-i-s*, see above pp. 312, 313; and no doubt *levi-s*, *pingui-s*. The form of the feminine (cp. Skr. *tanv-ī*) must have had something to do with this change of declension.

Masc. *lac-u-s*: O.Ir. *loch* 'lake' n.: compare Gr. *λάκκο-ς* 'hole, pit', which according to the rule given in vol. I § 166 p. 147 implies a stem **laxx-*. *im-petu-s*, *alg-u-s*, *grad-u-s*. Fem. *trib-u-s* Umbr. *trifo* 'tribum', which can scarcely come from *tri-* 'three' + $\sqrt{bhu-}$; *dom-u-s*: O.C.Sl. *dom-ŭ* 'house'; *ac-u-s*, *col-u-s* (also m.). Neut. *pec-u-* Umbr. *pequo* 'pecua' beside Lat. *pec-u-s*, see p. 313 above; *gen-u* see p. 313 f.; *teru* Umbr. *berva* 'verua' berus 'verubus': O.Ir. *lir* 'sting, spear', common ground-form **ger-u-*; *spec-u* (beside *spec-u-s* m. f.); *gel-u*.

Old Irish. *tiug* (gen. *tig*) 'thick': O.H.G. *dicchi* 'thick, dense' (Goth. **þik-u-s* or **þig-u-s*). *il* 'much': Skr. *pur-ú-ṣ* etc.; see p. 312 above. *fiu* 'suitable, worthy' or 'suitability' Mod.Cymr. *gwiw* 'proper, fitting, worthy' Gall. *Visu-r̄x* pr. kelt. **yes-u-*: Skr. *vás-u-ṣ* *vás-u* (p. 314), see Thurneysen in Kuhn's *Ztschr.* XXVIII 148 f. *dub* 'black'. *fiuch* 'wet'. From an Indo-Germanic *u*-stem come also *tana* Corn. *tanow* Bret. *tanav* 'thin', cp. (Ir. *tar-v-* *taru-(f)u-* etc., p. 312 f., and § 103 p. 311.

Masculine. *giun* O.Cymr. *genou* Corn. *genau* 'mouth': Skr. *hán-u-ṣ* f. etc., see above p. 313. *mug* 'slave, servant' for **mog-u-s*: Goth. *mag-u-s* 'boy, servant'; *fid* 'tree': O.H.G. *witu* 'wood'. Feminine. *mucc* 'sow', *deug* 'drink'. Neuter. *mid* 'mead': Skr. *mádhu* etc., see above p. 313; *loch* 'lake': Lat. *lac-u-s* m.

Germanic. The adjectival *u*-stems were partly absorbed into the *io*-declension, the point of connexion being the original feminine formation with *-iē* *-i-*. Goth. *kaúr-u-s* 'heavy': Skr. *gur-ú-ṣ* etc., see above p. 312. Goth. *þaúrs-u-s* O.H.G. *durr-i* 'dry, arid': Skr. *ṭṣ-ú-ṣ* etc., see above, p. 312. Goth. *aggvu-s* 'narrow' instead of **aggu-s* through the influence of the weak form *aggv-* = Skr. *qhv-*, O.H.G. *eng-i* O.Icel. *eng-r*: Skr. *qh-ú-ṣ* etc., see above p. 313. Goth. O.H.G. *fil-u* (A.S. *fealo*

lam-s-ā 'darkness'. *czēs-ū-s* 'timey' from *czēs-s* 'time' (a borrowed word). In Slavonic adjectival *u*-stems are found in derivatives with *-go-*; besides *sladū-kū* we have e. g. *finū-kū* *qzū-kū* (p. 313).

In Balto-Slavonic the substantives in *-u-* are all masculine. Lith. *med-ū-s* O.C.Sl. *med-ū* 'honey': Skr. *mādh-u* n. etc.: see above, p. 313. Lith. *cirsz-ū-s* 'the upper, outer part' O.C.Sl. *crich-u* adv. 'above'. Lith. *dang-ū-s* 'heaven' beside *dengiū* 'I cover'. *vid-ū-s* 'the inner part'. *al-ū-s* a drink like beer. O.C.Sl. *dom-ū* 'house': Lat. *dom-u-s* (✓ *dem-* 'build'), *col-ū* 'ox', *pol-ū* 'side'. In Slavonic all *u*-stems were inflected as *o*-stems.

§ 106. The Suffix *-ju-*. This must be regarded as proethnic, even though we cannot point with certainty to any one example which dates from the Indo-Germanic period. It should be noticed how frequently we find *-ju-* and *-io-* side by side, as Skr. *vā-yū-ṣ* Lith. *vē-ja-s* 'wind', Gr. *v-iú-ς* and *v-ió-ς* 'son'. Skr. *yāj-yu-ṣ* 'revered as divine' and 'revering, pious' and *yaj-ya-s* 'venerandus'.

Remark. The explanation of Skr. *pāy-ū-ṣ* pr. Gr. **παι-υ* (§ 104 p. 315) as containing the suffix *-u-*, not *-ju-* (similarly Skr. *stāy-ū-ṣ* *tāy-ū-ṣ* Avest. *tāy-u-š* 'thief' cp. Skr. *stē-nā-s*, Skr. *dhāy-ū-ṣ* 'thirsty' cp. *dhē-nā-*) is based on the hypothesis mentioned in vol. I § 150 p. 186, which would allow us to assume such a root as e. g. **pōj-*, not **pō-*. If this hypothesis be correct, it is natural to conjecture that the suffix *-ju-* may have sprung from these nouns, **pōju-* being analysed as **pō-ju-* etc. On this model then were formed e. g. Skr. *vā-yū-ṣ* (Idg. *uē-*), *dhā-yu-ṣ* 'generous' (Idg. *dhē-*), and later on *-ju-* was added to consonant stems, as Skr. *dās-yu-ṣ*. So far as I can see there is nothing to prevent our assuming that this process took place in proethnic Indo-Germanic.

Aryan. Skr. *dās-yu-ṣ* m., a title both of the gods' enemies, the demons, and of the unbelieving tribes, Avest. *dañhu-š* f. (cp. I § 125 p. 115, § 558 p. 415) O.Pers. *dahyu-* (nom. sing. *dahyau-š*) f. 'land, district, neighbourhood'. Skr. *man-yū-ṣ* m. 'excited thought, zeal, displeasure, anger' Avest. *mainyu-š* m. 'spirit, genius'. Skr. *vā-yū-ṣ* m. Avest. *va-yu-š* m. 'wind': the Avestic form is no doubt for **uō-ju-*, see I § 109 p. 101. Skr. *mṛ-t-yū-ṣ* m. 'death': perhaps identical with the

then developed *n*-cases like *nefo*. In this word -*t*- was a secondary suffix, and so also in Goth. *veitvōþ-s* (*veitvōd-*) *m*. 'witness'; this form will be discussed below in § 176.

Balto-Slavonic. The Lith. nom. sing. *mėnū* (gen. *mėnesio*) may, with O.H.G. *māno*, be referred to **mēnōt*.

Lith. pl. *dėszint-s* O.C.Sl. *deset-e*; see p. 390 above.

Remark 3. The Slav. masc. *lakūtŭ* 'elbow, ell', *nogūtŭ* 'unguis', *pěcatŭ* 'seal' form cases according to the consonantal declension; e. g. gen. pl. *lakūtŭ* nom. pl. *pěcat-e*. Have we here a secondary transference to this declension?

§ 124. The Suffixes -*tāt*- and -*tāt*- formed feminine abstract substantives from Adjectives and Substantives, and had in the proethnic and later periods the parallel forms -*tāti*- and -*tāti*-. They have been discussed in § 102 p. 308 ff.

§ 125. The Suffix -*nt*-¹⁾. In all periods this suffix formed all the active participles excepting that of the Perfect (§ 136). In most of the separate groups of languages it has remained in living use down to the present day.

nt- participles became simple nouns in all the languages, though more rarely in some than in others. They became partly adjectives pure und simple (with comparative and superlative), such as Mod.H.G. *reizend* 'charming' and partly substantives, such as Mod.H.G. *freund* 'friend'. This change from one part of speech to another has taken place at every stage in the developement of the Indo-Germanic languages. Thus for example Mod.H.G. *zahn* (Lat. *dēns*) had become a substantive in the proethnic period, *freund* (Goth. *frijōnd-s*) in

1) H. Ebel, Das Suffix -*ant* und Verwandtes, Kuhn's Ztschr. IV 321 ff. M. Bréal, Origine du suffixe participial *ant*, Mém. de la Soc. de lingu. II 188 ff. F. Baudry, Le *t* du suffixe participial *ant*, ibid. 393 ff. O. Bechstein, De nominibus Latinis suffixorum *ent*- et *mino*- ope formatis, Curtius' Stud. VIII 335 sqq. (I have not been able to work through Ch. Bartholomae's essay, Die ar. Flexion der Adjectiva und Participia auf -*nt*-, which has just appeared in Kuhn's Ztschr. XXIX 487 ff., so as to make use of it for the following sections, but a cursory survey has shown me, to my great satisfaction, that we have arrived at the same conclusions on certain main points).

Italic. Lat. *op-os op-us op-er-is, op-er-a*, Umbr. *ose* 'opere' *osatu* 'operato', Osc. *úpsannam* 'operandam' (I § 633 p. 474): Skr. *áp-as áp-as*, see above p. 414. Lat. *vet-us vet-er-is* (agedness, or being stricken in years; old creature', hence as an adj.) 'old', *vetus-tu-s*, Osc. *Vezkeí* dat., name of a god, '*Vetusco' (cp. *vetusculu-s*): Gr. *φέρ-ος*. Pr. Ital. **med-os* 'measure' (Gr. *μέδ-μετρος*, Goth. *mit-an*): Lat. *modes-tu-s moder-ārī* (the *o* instead of *e* is due to *mod-u-s*), Umbr. *meř-s mers* 'ius, fas' for **med(o)s*, the *o* being lost by syncope, see I § 633 p. 474. Umbr. *vas* 'vitium' for **vak(o)s*, beside Lat. *vacāre*. Lat. *aes*, gen. *aer-is*, which can hardly stand for **aj-es-*, but for **ajis-*, the weak form of the stem¹⁾ (the nom. acc. *aes* instead of orig. **a(i)-os* was formed on the analogy of the other cases), *aēnus* Umbr. *ahesnes* 'aēnis' for **ajes-no-* (I § 134 p. 121): Skr. *áy-as* 'metal, iron', Goth. *áis* (gen. *áizis*) 'ore, money'.

Lat. *nem-us (-or-)*: Gr. *νέμ-ος* 'place of pasture'. *dec-us (-or-)*: Skr. *daśas-yá-ti* 'he honours, is at the service of, is obliging'. *Ven-us (-er-)*, originally n. 'love's enticement': Skr. *ván-as* 'charm, sweetness'. *scel-us (-er-)*. *temp-us (-or-)*. *terg-us (-or-)*: Gr. *στέργ-ος τέργ-ος* 'leather, skin', esp. 'the hard hide on an animal's back', *corp-us (-or-)*. *pondus* and *foedus*, like *modes-tu-s*, have exchanged their *e* for *o* (**pend-os *feid-os*, the latter still appearing in *fīdus-tu-s*), through the influence of parallel stems in *-o-* (abl. *pondō*), cp. Gr. *ὄχος* above, p. 417. O.H.G. *fahs* p. 420.

Lat. infin. in *-er-e* for **es-i* (loc.), as *vivere* (Skr. *jīvās-ē*). *agere, minuere; ferre velle esse* are discussed in § 162. *fieri* is a new formation for (O.Lat.) *fiere*, modelled on *agī, sequī*, see ib.

vol-nus, mā-nus, fū-nus, pig-nus, facinus; mi-nus must also be classed here; see § 135. *pectus*.

The vowel-gradation which belonged to the *-es-* suffix in the pre-Italic period (preserved e. g. in *gen-us -er-is*) was superseded in many words in favour of the form *-os-* which prevailed over the other forms. This is seen in *tempus -oris* etc.; yet

1) See Osthoff in Paul-Braune's Beitr. XIII 403.

(gen. *ahsis*) O.Icel. *ax* n. O.H.G. *ahir ehir* n. 'ear of corn': Lat. *ac-us*. O.H.G. *fuhs* O.Icel. *fax* m. 'hair', no doubt due to contamination of a form **pek-os* n. with **pok-o-s* m. (Gr. *νάκος*) (cp. Gr. *ῥος* p. 417, Lat. *modestu-s* p. 418). Goth. *veihs* (gen. *veihsis*) n. 'borough, vicus': cp. Skr. *cēśās-* m. 'neighbour, vassal'. Goth. *þeih* (gen. *þeihsis*) n. 'time' beside *þeihan* 'to thrive, grow', √ *teny-* (I § 214 p. 181); it is usual to compare Lat. *tempus*, but I cannot think it proved that Lat. *p* is ever = Idg. *q*. Goth. *þlahs-jan* 'to fear', a denominative: Lat. *locusta* for **tlocus-tā* (Osthoff, Paul-Braune's Beitr. XIII 412 f.). Goth. *rimis* (gen. *-isis*) n. 'rest', √ *rem-*. Goth. *agis* (gen. *-isis*) n. 'fear', O.H.G. *egis-līh* 'terrible' *egis-o* m. (A.S. *eges-a* m.) 'fear' *egisōn* 'to terrify': Gr. *ἄχος* 'pain at heart, grief'. Goth. *sigis* n. O.Icel. *sigr* (gen. *sigrs*) m. A.S. *sigor* m. 'victory' O.H.G. *sigir-ōn* 'to conquer', Goth. *sigis-lāun* § 40 p. 73: Skr. *sāhas*; see above, p. 415. Goth. *hatis* (gen. *-izis*) n. O.Icel. *hatr* n. 'hate', Goth. *hatizōn* 'to hate'. Goth. *riqis* (gen. *-izis*) n. O.Icel. *rakkr* n. 'darkness': Skr. *rājas* etc., see above p. 414. Goth. *ga-digis* n. 'building, work': Gr. *τείχος* 'wall', with vowel-gradation in the root-syllable (p. 413). Goth. *bariz-ein-s* adj. 'of barley' O.Icel. *barr* n. 'barley': Lat. *farr-* for **far-s-*; see above, p. 413. Goth. *skapis* n. 'harm', O.Icel. *setr* (gen. *setrs*) n. 'seat': Skr. *sād-as* etc., see p. 414 above.

No satisfactory explanation has been given of the variation between *-s-* and *-z-*, as Goth. gen. *agis-is* beside *riqiz-is*, Goth. *valvis-ōn* 'to roll oneself, wallow' O.H.G. *egis-ōn* beside Goth. *hatiz-ōn* O.H.G. *sigir-ōn*.

Remark 1. Possibly it may be connected with the fact that in certain isolated uses some of the cases retained *-is-*, e. g. in the Skr. inf. in *-ds-ē* (p. 413). Furthermore side by side with the neuter substantives there may have been adjectives with the accent upon the formative suffix, say **agēs-* 'fearing' beside **āges-* 'fear', like Gr. *ψευδής* beside *ψεύδομαι*, and the *-s-* may have been taken from them; compare further § 133 Rem. p. 424. Lastly in certain instances where the word was used as the first member of compound, *-s-* may have remained regularly voiceless even when the suffix *-es-* was unaccented. See von Bahder, Verbalabstr. 55.

In West-Germanic we find beside this another entirely different modification of the original declension, due to the

-nes- -tes-: O.H.G. *lēhan* n. 'loan', see above p. 415; A.S. *hrō-ðor* n. beside *hrē-ð* (m.?) 'glory'. Cp. also A.S. *hæl* O.Icel. *heill* n. 'favourable omen, happiness' for **hailiz-* beside the adj. Goth. *hái-l-s* 'healthy' (§ 76 p. 206), A.S. *hlæw* n. 'grave-mound' for **hlainwiz-* beside Goth. *hlai-v* 'grave-mound' ground-form **kloi-yo-* (§ 64 p. 137) and the like.

Adjectives like Gr. *πενήης δεισ-μενής* do not seem to occur. It is a question whether they can be inferred from the appearance of *-s-* side by side with *-z-* in the oblique cases of the substantives and in derivatives. See Rem. 1 p. 420 above. O.H.G. *mast* 'mast, food' has also a secondary use as adj. 'fattened'.

Balto-Slavonic. Here we find only Substantives. In Lithuanian they have become masc. or fem. *i-* or *io-* stems: *-es-i-* and *-es-ia-*.

Lith. *debes-l-s* m. and f. 'cloud' (but we have the consonantal stem preserved in the gen. pl. *debes-ū*) O.C.Sl. *nebo* 'heaven': Skr. *nābh-as* etc.; see above, p. 414.

Lith. *ėdes-i-s*, gen. *-io*, m. 'food (for animals)': cp. Lat. *eder-e*. *kalbes-i-s*, gen. *-io*, m. 'phrase, proverb', beside which we have *kalbes-ė* f. 'speech'. Gen. *mėnes-io* and *mėnes-ės* 'of a month'; see above, p. 415. The original *-es-* is also seen in *kalbes-ni-s* 'talk', *mōkes-ti-s* 'payment' and the like: see § 101 p. 307.

O.C.Sl. *slov-o* 'word': Skr. *śrāv-as* etc., see above p. 414. *uch-o* 'ear': Mid.Ir. *au*; see above, p. 419. *ok-o* 'eye'. *tělo* 'body'. Gen. *ličes-e* 'of the face'; the nom. sing. **liko*, is wanting, its place being taken by *lice*. In consequence of their similar termination in the nom. acc. sing. *es-* stems were often inflected like neuter *o-* stems; e. g. gen. *slova* instead of *sloves-e*. On the other hand some of the Slavonic *es-* stems were perhaps *o-* stems originally, and became *es-* stems only because of this same similarity of form, e. g. *drěv-o* 'tree', *dělo* 'work'. The suffix *-os-* is no doubt also to be traced in abstract nouns like *qzos-ti* 'strait', cp. Lat. *angus-tu-s*; see § 101 p. 307.

51) compares, perhaps rightly, *cinis* with Gr. *κόνη-ς*. The same scholar assumes a stem *ῥέμω-* 'ordinance, right' in *ῥέμω-κρίων ῥέμω-τ-* and so forth. Here might also be classed some of the Aryan neuters in *-is-* (see under 2); I will add only Skr. *arcī-* 'beam' *jyōtiṣ-* 'light'.

Was this *-is-* ever the weak form of an earlier *-ies-*?

4. *-u-s-*. Skr. *dhānuṣ-* n. 'bow' beside *dhanú-ṣ* m. *dhanvan-* n.; *páruṣ-* n. 'knot' beside *párvan-* n.; *mādhūṣ-* n. 'sweetness' beside *mādhū-* n.; *mānuṣ-* m. 'human being' beside *mānuṣ* m. Goth. *mann-* for **manu-*. Lat. *pecus* n. beside *pecu*, *genus* m. n. 'knee' beside *genu* can hardly be deemed parallel examples; see § 104 p. 313.

In a few instances we find the ablaut *-us-*: *-yes-* (*-uos-*). Mention has already been made of Skr. *āyus-* n. 'life' compared with Gr. *αἰές αἰῶ* § 133 p. 423. Another example is Skr. *āruṣ-* n. 'wound' beside O.Icel. *orr* n. 'scar' for **aryiz-*.

135. The Suffix *-ies- -iies-*).

This is a primary comparative suffix, side by side with the secondary *-ero- -tero-* (§ 75 p. 188 ff.). The fact that it is contained in the superlative suffix *-is-to-* (§ 81 p. 242 ff.) indicates that its comparative meaning was wider then that of the sister suffix *-ero- -tero-*, which from the earliest period to which we can trace it was used only in comparing two things (e. g. Gr. *πό-τερος* 'which of two?'). So that originally the combination *-is + tero-* in Gr. *ἀριστερό-ς* Lat. *sin-ister* and the like (§ 75 p. 190 ff.) was probably not a mere pleonasm.

Even in the proethnic language the comparatives and superlatives containing this suffix had been brought into connexion with 'Positives' formed with all manner of suffixes (*-u-*, *-o-*, *-ro-* etc.), and were regarded as being derived from them, e. g. Skr. *spād-īyas-* Gr. *ῥῆδ-ιον* 'suavior' beside *spād-ú-ṣ ῥῆδ-ύ-ς* 'suavis'. Thus *-ies-* (*-is-to-*) acquired the character of a secondary suffix, which appears very clearly in the new formations which are so

1) J. Schmidt, Das primäre Comparativsuffix, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVI 377 ff.

These are absent only in such adverbs as Goth. *hauh-is* 'higher', *nēhv-is* 'nearer', *hald-is* 'more gladly, potius, rather' *fram-is* 'further on'; the termination *-is* seems to be the original neuter termination *-jos* (Rem. p. 428 f.), while such adverbs as Goth. *vairs* O.H.G. *wirs* 'worse', for pr. Germ. **wirs-iz*, Goth. *min* O.H.G. *min* 'less', for **miny-iz* represent Idg. *-is* (see loc. cit.).

Pr. Germ. *-iz-en-* (*-iz-en-*) m. n. (f. Goth. *-iz-ein-* O.H.G. *-ir-ōn-*). Goth. *sut-iza* O.H.G. *suog-iro* 'sweeter': Skr. *svād-īyas-* etc.; see above, p. 430. Goth. *máiza* O.H.G. *mēro* 'greater': Osc. *mais* etc., see above, p. 431. Goth. *hard-iza* O.H.G. *hart-iro* *hert-iro* beside Goth. *hard-u-s* 'hard': Lith. *kartės-nī-s* beside *kart-īs* 'bitter'. Goth. *hauh-iza* O.H.G. *hōh-iro* beside Goth. *hauh-s* 'high'. Goth. *bat-iza* O.H.G. *begg-iro* 'better'. Goth. *vairs-iza* O.H.G. *wirs-iro* 'worse, wicked'. The forms have often been levelled to match the positive, and secondary formations have arisen: Goth. *jūh-iza* O.H.G. *jung-iro* and *jag-iro* beside Goth. *jugg-s* O.H.G. *jung*, as contrasted with Skr. *yāv-īyas-* O.Ir. *ōa*, cp. O.H.G. *jungisto* § 81 p. 248; Goth. *alp-iza* O.H.G. *alt-iro* beside Goth. *al-þ-ei-s* O.H.G. *al-t* 'old'. The origin of Goth. *minn-iza* O.H.G. *minu-iro* for **mi-my-iz-*, compared with Gr. *μείω* Lat. *minis-ter* O.C.Sl. *mъnjъti*, is obscure.

-ōz- *-ōz-en-* appeared in proethnic Germanic side by side with *-iz-* *-iz-en-*; see § 81 p. 248. It is used only in the comparatives of *o*-stems in Gothic and (with rare exceptions) in Old High German. Adv. Goth. *sniumundōs* 'more hastily', *aljaleikōs* 'otherwise'. Goth. *frōdōza* from *frōþ-s* 'wise', *svinþōza* from *svinþ-s* 'strong, powerful', O.H.G. *liobōro* from *liob* 'beloved', *liohtrō* from *lioh* 'bright', *gileganōro* from *gi-legan* 'apt, suitable': *hōhōro* (also *hōhiro*) from *hōh* 'high', *hērōro* (also *hēriro*) from *hēr* 'grand, glorious'; this variation is frequent; *tiurōro* (and *tiuriro*) from *tiuri* 'dear, valuable'.

O.H.G. *obarōro* (*obarōsto*) from *ob-aro* 'upper', *afrōro* (*afrōsto*) from *af-tro* 'later', *fordrōro* *fordarōro* (*fordarōsto*) from *for-dro* *for-daro* 'former'. *mēr-iro* and *mērōro* from *mēro*.

Balto-Slavonic. In Lithuanian the only form of the suffix is *-ies-*, in the combination *-ē-s-n-i-s* *-ē-s-n-é*; the origin of

ἐ-γέν-ε-το 'arose, became'; the parallel form γε-γα-ώς γε-ώς γε-γα-νῆα, like με-μα-ώς (✓ *men-*) and βε-βα-νός (✓ *gem-*), was a new formation suggested by γέ-γα-μιν (μέ-μα-μεν βέ-βα-μιν) etc. and modelled upon ἐ-στα-ώς: ἐ-στα-μεν. δε-δι-ώς beside δέ-δι-μεν 'we feared' 1. sing. δειδῶ i. e. δέδω for *δέ-δω(ι)-α, ✓ δε-ει-πε-γν-ώς; Skr. *bā-bhā-vās-* etc., see p. 442 above. τε-τοκ-ός beside ἐ-τεκ-ε 'he begat'. ἐ-στα-ώς ἐ-στώς and ἐ-στη-ώς ἐ-στειός beside ἐ-στα-μεν 'we stand': Skr. *ta-sthi-vās-* etc., see p. 442 above. πε-πηγ-ώς beside πέ-πηγ-ε 'is fitted, fixed', ✓ πακ-παῖ. στε-σηρ-ώς στε-σαρ-νῆα beside σείρω 'I sweep'.

The suffix is sometimes found in derivative verbs, as Hom. *κεχαρη-ώς* beside *κράρη-μαι* (aor. ἐ-κρά-ην, pres. *χαίρω* 'I rejoice'). βεβάρη-ώς 'gravatus' beside pres. βαρέω, Boeot. inscr. *φε-φεκον-μειόντων* = Att. *ὥκονομηκότων* beside *οἰκονομέω* 'I govern' (for -όντων instead of -ότων see below), all following the formation of τεθνη-ώς κε-κμη-ώς and the like. Cp. O.C.Sl. *žele-ŕn*.

It was further extended to the *x*-perfect: δεδωκ-ώς beside δέ-δωκ-ε 'has given', ἐ-στηκ-ώς beside ἐ-στηκ-ε 'stands', τετίμηκ-ώς beside τε-τίμηκ-ε 'has honoured' and so forth.

The feminine forms in -εῖα -εῖας (see p. 440) appear in Doric dialects and in Attic: e. g. Heracl. ἐρρηγ-εῖα Ther. *ἱστᾶκ-εῖα*, Att. *γεγον-εῖα*.

It occurs in Homeric forms with -(f)ωτ- instead of -(f)οτ-, whose *ω* was taken from the nom. sing. masc., e. g. πε-γν-ῶτ-α, με-μα-ῶτ-ες -ῶτ-ος, τε-θνη-ῶτ-α. Cp. μήσ-τωρ-α formed on the pattern of μήσ-τωρ § 120 Rem. p. 380, § 122 p. 386.

These perfect participles, like the other forms of the perfect stem, were remodelled on the analogy of the presents in -ω in different dialects, especially in those of the Aeolic group: e. g. Lesb. *πεπληρώκοντα εὐεργετήκισαν*, Thess. *ἐν-οικο-δομεικόν-τεσσ*, Boeot. *φεφεκονομειόντων* (see above), Hom. *κεκλήγοντες*, Hesiod. *ἐρρήγοντι*, Pind. *πικρήκοντας*, Delph. *τετελευκᾶκούσας*. Here it was a purely syntactic consideration, viz. the similarity of meaning (the Greek Perfect being a Present in point of time) that suggested this transfer to the system of the present-inflexion; the new feminine formations, on the other hand, such as Hom.

-ero- and *-tero-* seem to have been first used only in words expressing conceptions of space and time, and in certain pronouns of a different meaning. In these the comparison contains only one notion, that of strong contrast, like 'below': 'above'. **qdh-ero-* 'lower': Skr. *ádharma-*, O.H.G. *undaro*; **en-tero-* 'inner': Skr. *ántara-*, Armen. *ender-k*, Gr. *ἐντερον*, Lat. *inter-ior*, O.C.Sl. *jetro*. **qo-tero-* 'which (of two)?: Skr. *katará-*, Gr. *νότερος*, Umbr. *podruh-pei*, Goth. *hvaþar*, Lith. *katrùs*. Add certain examples found in single languages, as Armen. *mer* O.Ir. *ar n-* Goth. *unsar* 'our', Gr. *ἡμέτερος* Lat. *nos-ter* 'our' (contrasted with 'your'), Gr. *ἀγρότερος* 'dwelling in the open fields, wild', thus having the sense of *ἄγριος*, but originally distinguished from it by the reference to its opposite *ἄστυ*. In Aryan and Greek *-tero-* then became a common comparative suffix for adjectives of any formation and meaning, like Skr. *amá-lara-* Gr. *ωμότερος* compared with *amá-* *ωμός* 'raw', and here there was comparison no longer with the absolutely opposite idea, but with the notion expressed by the so-called positive: probably this process was completed partly through association with the other group of comparatives formed with *-ies-*, such as Skr. *sadd-tyas-* Gr. *ἡδίων* (acc. sing.). In the older stratum of comparatives, like **en-tero-* **ni-tero-*, it is seldom that the idea of relative contrast appears, as in Gr. *πρότερον* ἢ 'before that' Osc. *pruter-pan* 'prius quam'. See § 75 p. 188 ff.

-to- *-is-to-* *-mo-* (*-ημο-*) *-t-ημο-*. *-to-* and *-mo-* are found first in numerals, where they were used to express position in a numerical series, e. g. **dekyto-* 'decimus': Gr. *δέκατος* Goth. *taihunda* Lith. *deszímta-s* O.C.Sl. *desetŭ*, **septmo-* **septηmo-* 'septimus': Skr. *saptamá-* Gr. *ἑβδομος* Lat. *septimu-s* O.Ir. *sechtm-ad* Lith. *sėkma-s* O.C.Sl. *sedmy-jŭ*. Thus these suffixes were suited to set one particular idea in comparison with several others separately. Hence *-is-to-* was formed beside *-ies-* *-is-*, to express comparison with a number of objects, e. g. Gr. *μέγιστος ἐγὼ ἑμῶν* 'I am greater than any one of you' (*μεῖζων ἐγὼ ἑμῶν* 'I am greater than you', *ἑμῆς* being regarded as a single notion), *πλεονὸν ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν προγεγενημένων*

dúh-ana-s dúgh-ana-s, beside the act. indic. *dōgdhi* 'he milks'. See § 67 p. 151 f.

3. Forms expressing completed action and hence a state, chiefly passive.

-to-. **klā-tó*- 'heard, famed': Skr. *śrutá-* Gr. *κλυτός*- Lat. *in-clut-u-s* O.Ir. *cloth* O.H.G. *Hlot-hari* ('Lothair') *hlūt* ('loud'). **gm-tó*:- Skr. *gatá-* 'gone, gone forth, come' *á-gata-* 'untrodden', Gr. *παρός*- 'trodden, passable', Lat. *circum-ventu-s*. See § 79 p. 218 ff.

-no- -*yno-* and in some of the languages also -*eno-on-o-*. **pī-nó*- **pī-nó*- 'filled, full': Skr. *pūrṇá-* Avest. *per-na-* O.Ir. *lan* Goth. *full-s* Lith. *pilna-s* O.C.Sl. *plünū*; Gr. *στυγρός*- 'hated'; Lith. *kiš-na-s* 'exalted'. Goth. *fulg-in-s* 'hidden'; O.C.Sl. *vez-enū* 'carried'. Goth. *vaúrþ-an-s* O.H.G. *gi-wort-an* 'become'. See § 65 p. 138 ff.

-*mes-*, with active sense, see 1 p. 451.

4. Forms expressing the feasibility, possibility, or necessity of the action; passive.

-io- -*iō-*. Skr. *yāj-ya-s* Gr. *ἄγιο-ς* 'venerandus'. Skr. *dṛś-ya-s* *dārś-ya-s* 'visible, worth seeing'. Gr. *στυγιο-ς* 'abominable, detested'. Lat. *ex-im-iu-s* 'eximendus, distinguished'. Goth. *brūk-s* (stem *brūk-ja-*) O.H.G. *prūchi* 'useful'. See § 63, 1 p. 123 ff.

-*tno-* -*tyno-*. Lat. *dandu-s* 'who is to be given'. Lith. *sūk-tina-s* 'torquendus'. See § 69, 2 p. 161 ff.

Further the words formed with -*to-* (3) seem to have sometimes implied this secondary meaning even in Indo-Germanic, primarily however in negative usages. It is found especially in Greek, as *λυτός*- 'that may be freed or loosed'. See § 79, 1 p. 220.

Forms peculiar to single groups of languages: Skr. -*tva-*, *kār-tva-s* 'faciendus', see § 61 p. 116. Skr. -*tao-ya-*, *kar-tavyā-s* 'faciendus' see § 63 p. 126 f. Gr. -*teo-* clearly for -*tefo-*, *διωκ-τός*- 'who is to be pursued', see § 64 p. 135 with Rem. 1. Occasionally this meaning can be seen in the *no-* adjectives (3), as Gr. *ἀγρός*- 'venerandus, deserving of honour, holy', *σμερδός*-

noŭi. **say-s*-s: Skr. *śā-śa-s* 'drying, parching', Gr. Ion. *αῖος*; Lith. *saūsa-s* O.C.Sl. *suchū* 'dry'. See § 60 p. 109 ff.

-u. **gyr-u-s* (**gr-u-s*): Skr. *gurū-ś* 'heavy, violent, hard'. Gr. *βαρὺς* Lat. *grav-i-s* Goth. *kairu-s* 'heavy'. **angh-u-s* 'narrow': Skr. *āhū-ś* Armen. *ancu-k anju-k* Goth. *aggou-s* O.C.Sl. *qzū-kū*. **śud-u-s* (**sud-u-s*) 'sweet, pleasant': Skr. *svadū-ś* Gr. *ῥῆς*; Lat. *sud-i-s* Goth. *sut-s*. See § 104 p. 312 ff.

-ro -gro-. **rudh-ró-s* -*gró-s* 'red': Skr. *rudh-irá-s* Gr. *ῥοδ-ρός* Lat. *rub-er* O.C.Sl. *rūd-rū*. **spā-ró-s*: Skr. *sphirá-s* 'fat, large, rich', Lat. *pro-sper*, O.C.Sl. *sporū* 'rich'. Skr. *cit-rá-s* 'shining, glorious, wonderful' O.H.G. *heit-ar* 'shining, clear, bright'. See § 74 p. 180 ff.

-mo-, excluding its participial function. (§ 140, 2). Avest. *gar-ma* Lat. *for-mu-s* O.H.G. *war-m* 'warm', Armen. *jer-m* Gr. *θερμός* 'warm'. Skr. *tū-tu-má* Avest. *tā-ma* 'strong'; Skr. *tig-má* 'sharp', O.Ir. *lua-m* 'celox'. Goth. *rū-m-s* 'roomy'. Lith. *szir-ma-s* 'gray'. See § 72, 3 p. 170 ff.

-yo-: **gl-yo-s* 'living': Skr. *jīvá-s* Lat. *vīvo-s* Mod.Cymr. *byw* Goth. *giu-s* Lith. *gyva-s* O.C.Sl. *živū*. **gdh-yo-s*: Skr. *ardheá-s* Gr. *ῥεθός* 'upright', Lat. *arduo-s* 'steep', O.Ir. *ard* 'high, great, noble'. Skr. *pār-ra-s* 'former, earlier', Gr. *πρω-fo* in Dor. *πρᾶν* 'of yore', and other words, O.C.Sl. *prŭ-oy-jŭ* 'primus'. See § 64 p. 133 ff. In Latin and Germanic this suffix is used in a considerable number of adjectives denoting colour; which must be explained as due to the influence of a few examples (as **ghel-yo*: Lat. *helvo-s* O.H.G. *gelo*), cp. § 57 p. 104 f.

The Relation of Adjectives to Participles.

§ 144. An adjective can be used to denote not only a quality inherent in the nature of a thing, but a transitory attribute, defined in regard to time according to the standpoint of the speaker: thus it comes to have somewhat of a verbal character. In other words it becomes a participle (*μετοχή*). Its verbal nature may include the power of governing a case, and of distinguishing different epochs of time, different kinds of action (momentary, continuous, inceptive), and Voice (*diathesis, genus verbi*). See § 140 p. 451 f.

Substantives denoting material things or persons (Concrete Substantives).

§ 145. Distinction of Sex. The *o*-suffixes served to indicate male creatures, e. g. **ekyo-s* 'horse, stallion': Skr. *ásva-s* Gr. ἵππο-ς Lat. *equo-s* O.Ir. *ech*. Female creatures were distinguished by the *a*-suffixes and by *-jē- -ī-*, e. g. **ekya-* 'female horse, mare': Skr. *āsā* Lat. *equa* Lith. *aszva*; **ulq-ī-* 'she-wolf': Skr. *vykī* O.Icel. *ylg-r* O.H.G. *wulpa*. See § 59 ff. p. 107 ff., § 109 ff. p. 332 ff. It must, I think, be assumed, as I have already observed (in § 57 Rem. p. 104, cp. my essay on Gender there cited), that originally neither the *o*- and *a*-suffixes nor even *-jē- (-ī-)* had any connexion with animal sex; it is far more probable that in one or two words, perhaps in **gena-* 'woman' **māma-* 'mother' **s-tr-ijē-* **s-tr-ī-* 'woman', the idea of female nature contained in the root of the word was imparted to the suffix, and that this led to the creation of such forms as **ekya-* beside **ekyo-*, **ulqjē-* beside **ulgo-*, to describe the female as distinct from the male animal. It was only through being contrasted with *-a-* and *-jē-* that the *o*-formation afterwards came to denote male sex. And it was still constantly and indeed primarily used to denote any given creature without reference to gender, e. g. ἵππο-ς 'horse'. See § 158.

§ 146. Names of kindred. The suffix most frequently used is *-er- -ter-*, as in **dajjér-* 'husband's brother-in-law' (Skr. *dēvár-* etc.), **syésor-* 'sister' (Skr. *svásar-* etc.), **pa-tér-* 'father' (Skr. *pítár-* etc.). See § 119 ff. p. 376 ff. This suffix in its origin had certainly nothing to do with the notion of kinship. From its accidental use in one or other of these nouns it was taken to form a series of words in which its function was to denote that idea. **pa-tér-* seems to have been originally a nomen agentis: 'protector'.

§ 147. Names of Animals. The use of *-bho-* in one or other of the words denoting animals, which had come down from the earliest times, led the Indians and the Greeks to employ

through the metaphorical use of *nomina actionis* for the doer of the action. Thus Skr. *dhāti-ṣ* m. 'shaker' (as f. 'a shaking', cp. Gr. *ῥῶα-ς* f. 'a raging, roaring'), Avest. *raiti-ṣ* m. 'bestower' (as f. 'bestowal, alms', cp. Skr. *rāti-ṣ* f. 'alms, gift'), O.Ir. *taid* m. O.C.Sl. *taŕ* m. 'thief' (orig. 'concealment, theft'), see § 99 f. p. 293 ff. Skr. *mān-tu-ṣ* 'counsellor' as well as 'counsel, advice', see § 108 p. 323 ff. Cp. § 157.

The *nomina agentis* may be used to denote an activity limited in point of time as well as one constantly repeated. It is especially in the former use that, like the participles, they have developed verbal constructions; for example those in *-ter-*, as Skr. *vāsūni dāta* 'bona dator' beside *vāsūnā dāta* 'bonorum dator' (cp. p. 378 f.), Lat. (rarely) *dator divitiās, iūsta orātor* beside *dator divitiarum, iustorum orator*, Gr. (Aesch. Prom. 612) *πρὸς βροτοῖς δοτῆρ' ὄρεῖς Προμηθεΐα* 'thou seest Prometheus, the bestower of fire upon men'. If the connexion between the substantive and the verbal meaning is relaxed, the former may by degrees lose the character of a *nomen agentis* altogether; there then remains only the notion of a concrete thing or person. Thus **po-ter-* at the time of the separation of the Indo-Germanic races had ceased to mean 'protector', which seems to have been its original signification, and meant simply 'father' (cp. § 146). **uksen-* (Skr. *ukṣān-* Mod.Cymr. *ych* Goth. *aúhsa*) did not mean 'sower, begetter', but 'bull'. Gr. *τρυγών* 'turtle dove' orig. 'cooer' (*τρυζω* 'I coo'), Lat. *praetor* orig. 'qui praet', O.H.G. *heri-zogo* 'duke' orig. 'leader of a host'.

§ 150. Nomina instrumenti.

-tro- -tlo-. Skr. *art-tra-m* *art-tra-s* O.H.G. *ruo-dar* Lith. *ir-kla-s* 'rowing implement, oar'. Skr. *kār-tra-m* 'magic charm'. Gr. *φέρε-τρο-ν* *φέρε-τρο-ν* Lat. *fer-culu-m* 'framework for carrying, litter, bier'. See § 62 p. 118 ff.

-ro- -lo-. Avest. *pata-ra-* 'wing', Gr. *πτερό-ν* 'feather, wing' (means of flying', √ *pet-* 'fly'). Lat. *scalp-ru-m* 'cutting instrument, knife', *caelu-m* 'chisel' for **caed-lo-m*, *prēlu-m* 'press' for **prem-s-lo-m*. See § 74 p. 180 ff., § 76 p. 198 ff.

'standing-place, position', *jant-tra-m* 'birthplace, home'. Gr. *lēr-roo-v* 'lying-place, bed', *θιά-roo-v* 'place of exhibition, theatre'. Lat. *cubi-culu-m*, *spectā-culu-m*, *hospita-culu-m*, *ambula-cru-m*. Lith. *bū-klà* 'home', *bū-klà-s* (a?) 'lair of an animal'. See § 62 p. 118 ff.

-ro- -lo-. Skr. *mand-irā-m* housing, chamber, house', Gr. *μάνδ-ρα* 'fold, pen, stall'. Skr. *aj-irā-m* 'arena, courtyard'. Gr. *ἔδ-ρα* O.Icel. *set-r* n. 'seat'. Gr.Lac. *ἔλλᾱ* for **ἔδ-λα* Lat. *sella* for **sed-la* Goth. *sit-l-s* 'seat', O.C.Sl. *selo* 'fundus, habitaculum' Upper Sorb. *sy-dlo* 'dwelling-place'. Here no doubt should be classed Idg. **ag-ro-s* 'common, meadow, field' (Skr. *āj-ra-s*, Gr. *ἀγ-ρός* Lat. *ag-er* Goth. *ak-r-s*) as denoting 'a place for driving cattle', √ *ag-* 'agere', cp. Skr. *ajirā-m*; the word acquired the meaning 'arable land' only when pasturing gave way to tillage, and the greater part of the land was cultivated by the plough. See § 74 p. 180 ff., § 76 p. 198.

-dhro- -dhlo-. Gr. *ἀλυνθή-θρα*, 'wallowing-place', *γενέ-θλη* 'birthplace' *ἔδε-θλο-v* 'seat, site'. Lat. *volatā-bru-m* 'wallowing-place for swine', *sta-bulu-m*, *nata-bulu-m*, *concilia-bulu-m*, *lati-bulu-m*, *late-bra*. Czech *by-dlo* 'dwelling'. See § 77 p. 213 ff.

Gr. -τηριο- Lat. -*tōrio-*. Gr. *ἀγωνισ-τήριο-v* 'place of battle', *ἀκροᾱ-τήριο-v* 'hall of audience', *ἔργασ-τήριο-v* 'place of work', *βουλευ-τήριο-v* 'council hall'. Lat. *audi-tōriu-m* *dēversōriu-m* *condi-tōriu-m*.

Other suffixes came in other ways to denote locality. Thus -*men-* in Greek, as *οινεών οινών* 'wine-bin', *παρθενεών παρθενών* 'maidens' apartment', *ἱππών* 'stable', *λασιών* 'place thick with bushes', see § 116 p. 364. -*to-* in Lat., as *arbus-tu-m* 'plantation' (something provided with trees), *filic-tu-m* 'place full of ferns', *cārec-tu-m* 'place full of reeds', see § 79 p. 231 f. and cp. § 152. Cp. further the *nomina actionis* which have become names of place, § 155.

§ 152. Collective Nouns. Under this head there is little to notice. The chief means which the Indo-Germanic languages possess of denoting groups of things collectively in the singular

often disappeared, partly even in prehistoric periods. Compare the diminutive adjectives in § 142.

-*lo-*. Skr. *ṣṣā-lā-s* 'mannikin, small man', *śalākā-lā* 'little shaving'. Gr. ἀρκυῖλος 'young bear'. Lat. *porc-ulu-s* *porcil-ia* O.H.G. *farhel-i* Lith. *parszē-l-i-s* 'little pig, sucking pig'. Lat. *rot-ula* Lith. *ratē-l-i-s* 'small wheel'. O.H.G. *bendil* 'little band'. See § 76 p. 198 ff.

-*go-*. Skr. *marya-kā-s* 'mannikin', Gr. μεῖραξ 'girl' *μειράκ-ov* 'boy'. Skr. *aśva-kā-s* 'small horse'. Gr. βώμαξ 'small altar'. Lat. *homun-c-iō* 'mannikin' (in the sense of a weak creature), *ovi-c-ula* 'little sheep'. Lith. *parszūka-s* 'little sucking pig', *tėvūka-s* 'little father', O.C.Sl. *synū-kū* 'little son'. See § 84 p. 252 f., § 88 p. 262 ff.

Usages confined to single groups of languages: Gr. neuters in -*io-v*: ὀρνίθ-*io-v* 'small bird', ἐταρίδ-*io-v* 'little mistress', ἀσπίδ-*io-v* 'small shield', ἀδελφ-*ίδιο-v* 'little brother', see § 63 p. 128. Germanic neuters with -*īna-*: Goth. *gait-ein* O.H.G. *geiz-īn* 'little goat', Goth. *gum-ein* 'little man', see § 68 p. 158. In both these instances the intermediate stage was the idea of belonging to a species, which suggested that of incompleteness and inferiority. The developement was perhaps the same in the case of the suffix -*ien-* in Avest. *kain-in-* f. 'girl', Lat. *pūs-iō* 'little boy' *pāmīl-iō* 'dwarf' *senec-iō* 'little old man' *homunc-iō* and others of the same sort, see § 115 p. 358. 359. Mention should also be made of the Germanic diminutives with Idg. -*go-*, such as O.H.G. *armihha* 'paupercula' *snurihha* 'little daughter-in-law', see § 91 p. 277.

Diminutive suffixes were often combined, as Gr. -*x-io-*, Lat. -*c-ulo-* -*l-ulo-*, Germ. -*l-ina-*, Lith. -*lė-la-* (nom. -*lė-l-i-s*). This was done partly to give a fuller and more emphatic expression to the idea of diminution, e. g. Lat. *agellulu-s* beside *agellu-s*, from *ager* 'field', Lith. *mergelė* beside *mergėlė*, from *mergà* 'girl', partly in consequence of a complete loss of the diminutive sense in the first suffix, e. g. Lat. *mus-c-ulu-s*, Mod.H.G. *ferk-el-chen*.

-lo- and -go- were frequently employed in the proethnic and later periods in names of persons, especially to form 'pet names'. How far indeed the suffix retained its proper sense, is often hard to determine in any particular instance. Skr. *bhanu-la-s*, Gr. *Θρανί-λο-s*, O.Ir. *Tuathal*, Goth. *Vulfi-la*, Pruss. *Butil*. Skr. *dēva-ka-s* *dēvika-s* Gall. *Divico* *Divic-ia*, 'Skr. *śuna-ka-s* Gr. *Kύναξ*, Skr. *sana-ka-s* Gall. *Senicco* *Seneca* O.H.G. *Sinigu-s* (the termination is Latin), O.H.G. *Berhtung* *Berhting*, Pruss. *Tewiko* *Banduke*.

Relation of Adjectives to Concrete Substantives.

§ 154. No distinction in form has ever been made in the Indo-Germanic languages between the adjective or participle on the one hand and the concrete substantive on the other.

Adjectives were used without change as substantives, just as substantives were often used without change as adjectives. Thanks to this usage the original adjectival or substantival character was often completely lost; thus Idg. **dont-* 'tooth' (Skr. *dánt-* etc.), originally a verbal adjective meaning 'eating', became a simple substantive, perhaps even in the proethnic period (§ 126 p. 394. 398). The original character of a particular word however often appears side by side with the new sense, e. g. Lat. *nātu-s* 'born' and 'son', *uber* 'udder, exuberant fulness, abundance' and 'fertile, rich'.

The process of the change from adjective to substantive was frequently that the meaning of the adjective came to include the idea of some substantive to which the adjective was especially often applied. Thus *ναῦς* 'ship' was often left unexpressed Greek, as in the phrases *ἡ τριήρης*, *ἡ πρύμνη*. In many instances the different languages show a remarkable agreement, and there the usages in question may date from the Indo-Germanic period. Thus we have fem. Gr. *δεξιὰ* (sc. *χείρ*) Lat. *dextra* (sc. *manus*) 'the right hand', O.Ir. *for deis* (sc. *laim*) 'on the right', Goth. *taihva* (sc. *handu-s*), Lith. *deszinė* (sc. *rankā*) 'the right hand', but on the contrary masc. Skr. *dākṣiṇa-s* (sc. *hāsta-s*) 'right hand'. Lat. *capr-ina*

'goat's flesh' Lith. *ož-ėnà* 'flesh of a he-goat' O.C.Sl. *bǫbroc-ina* 'beaver's flesh'; Lat. *rap-ina* 'turnip-field' Lith. *aviž-ėnà* 'oat-field' O.C.Sl. *nov-ina* 'newly ploughed land, fallow land', see § 68 p. 156 ff.

But some formative suffixes acquired the special function of converting adjectives into substantives, being used as denominative suffixes to form names of persons or things possessing the attribute or quality which was expressed by the original word. *-en-* is very commonly so used, especially in Germanic; e. g. Avest. *mar't-an-* 'a mortal' beside *mar'ta-* 'mortal', Gr. *σφαλ-ων* 'squinter' beside *σφαλό-ς* 'spinting', Lat. *Ruf-ō* beside *rūfu-s* Goth. *rāud-a* 'red one' beside *rāuþ-s* 'red', Lith. *rud-ū* 'autumn' beside *rūda-s* 'reddish-brown'. See § 114 p. 344 ff. Other suffixes of this kind are found only in single groups of languages, as *-ago-* in Balt.-Slav., e. g. Lith. *naujōka-s* O.C.Sl. *novakū* 'novice' beside *naūje-s* *novū* 'new' (§ 89 p. 274), and Germ. *-inga-*, e. g. O.H.G. *arming* 'poor man, poor fellow' beside *arm* 'poor' (§ 88 p. 267).

Substantives denoting an activity or state (*nomina actionis*, verbal abstract nouns).

§ 155. To denote an activity or a state is in general the function of the verb. Substantives which express an action or a state owe their existence to a metaphor, as do those which denote a quality (§ 157), — action and state being regarded as belonging to the category of material objects.

It often happens that the *nomen actionis* does not express its own idea simply, but represents also, by a confusion, the notion of a person or thing that is in some way connected with the action; thus such substantives come to denote material objects. The designation of the action may be applied to its (grammatical) subject: e. g. Mod.H.Germ. *rat* (properly 'advice') = 'adviser, counsellor', *strom strömung* (properly 'a streaming') = 'streaming water', *verzierung* (properly 'an adorning') = 'something which adorns'. [Cp. Eng. *counsel* (in e. g. *Queen's Counsel*), *a grief* = 'something which grieves', *a hindrance* = 'something

ὄψις 'sight, countenance', μάχην-τις (m.) 'seizer, robber'. Lat. *mors*, *tussi-s*, *ves-ti-s*, *cōs*, *hos-ti-s*. O.Ir. *buith* 'existence', *bli-th* 'painting'. Goth. *us-tauht-s* 'perfection, completion', *fra-lust-s* 'loss, destruction', *sauht-t-s* 'sickness, illness', *ga-skapt-s* 'creation, created thing', O.H.G. *sih-t* 'sight, power of sight', Mid.H.G. *trijt* 'driving, common (cattle-drive), meadow'. Lith. *dū-ti-s* O.C.Sl. *du-ti* 'gift'. Lith. *gir-ti-s* 'feast', *skl/sti-s* 'cleft in the hoof of cattle', *pir-ti-s* 'bath-room', *pri-eit-ti-s* 'suburb'. O.C.Sl. *po-znati* 'cognitio', *vrīstī* 'state, condition, position', *sč-ti* 'string'. See § 100 p. 294 ff.

-ni-. Skr. *lā-ni-ś* 'a tearing loose, severance', Goth. *lā-u-s* 'means of deliverance, ransom money'. Skr. *gīr-ṇi-ś* 'a swallowing', *jār-ṇi-ś* 'heat'. O.Ir. *tāin* 'a driving forth, booty', *buain* 'harvesting, harvest'. Goth. *ana-buon-s* 'bidding, injunction, order', *gu-rēhn-s* 'intention, plan', *siun-s* 'a seeing, power of sight, countenance, appearance'. Lith. *bar-ni-s* 'quarrel' O.C.Sl. *bra-ni* 'battle'. Lith. *žinksni-s* 'step'. O.C.Sl. *stig-ni* 'way, road'. See § 95 p. 285 ff.

-tu-. Skr. *gān-tu-ś* 'course, way', Lat. *ad-ventu-s*. Avest. *vi-datu-ś* 'decomposition of the body, dissolution, death'. Gr. *κτιστις* 'a founding', *ἀκοντιστις* 'javelin-throwing, fight with javelins'. Lat. *ad-itu-s*, *or-tu-s*, *gemi-tu-s*. O.Ir. *mess* 'deciding, sentence'. Goth. *kus-tu-s* 'trial, proof', *vahs-tu-s* 'growth'. Lith. *lytū-s* *lētū-s* 'rain'. See § 108 p. 323 ff.

-mo- -ma-. **dhā-mo-s* 'ebullition': Gr. *θρῆμός* 'ebullition of temper, passion, courage', Skr. *dhāmā-s* Lat. *fūmu-s* Lith. *dūmai* O.C.Sl. *dymū* 'smoke'. Skr. *sār-ma-s* 'a flowing', Gr. *ἀρ-μή* 'impulse'. Skr. *bhā-ma-s* 'light, brightness'. Gr. *πρῶμός* 'sneezing', *ἰγ-μός* 'shrieking', *ἀπαιγ-μός* 'plundering, booty', *δασιμός* 'partition, division', *τι-μή* 'estimation, honour', *γνώμη* 'intention, opinion'. Lat. *ani-mu-s* *ani-ma*, *fa-ma*. Goth. *dō-m-s* O.H.G. *tuō-m* 'sentence, judgment, position, worth', O.H.G. *etrō-m* 'stream'. Lith. *lankma-s* 'bending', *rėksma-s* 'roar', *sukima-s* 'a turning', *sākyma-s* 'a saying'. O.C.Sl. *u-mū* 'mind, understanding'. See § 72, 3 p. 170 ff.

-men-. Skr. *dhd-man-* 'statute, operation, seat, dwelling-

place'. Avest. *âman-* 'creation, created thing', Gr. *ἀνά-θημα* 'a setting up, that which is set up, votive offering' *θήμα* 'a storing up, deposit'. Skr. *dâ-man-* 'a giving', Gr. *δόμα* 'gift'. Gr. *ῥεῦμα ῥύμα* O.Ir. *sruaim* 'a streaming, stream'. Skr. *bhâr-man-* 'support, fostering care', Gr. *φέμα* 'fruit of the womb', O.C.Sl. *brě-mę* 'burden'. Skr. *hâvî-man-* 'a summoning', *ê-man-* 'a going', *dhâr-man-* 'prop, support'. Gr. *ήμα* 'a throwing', *νόημα* 'thought', *ὄραμα* 'sight', *ζεύγμα* 'bond, bridge of boats'. Lat. *nâ-men, lû-men, agmen, certâ-men*. O.Ir. *cēim* 'a stepping, step', *bēim* 'a striking, stroke', *gairm* 'call, cry'. Goth. *hliu-ma* 'hearing', *skei-ma* 'a light' O.H.G. *scī-mo* 'brightness, gleam'. Lith. *rė-mū* 'heart-burn', *aug-mū* 'excescence'. See § 117 p. 365 ff.

-o-, -a-. Skr. *jân-a-m* 'birth, origin', Gr. *γόνος* 'birth, offspring'. Gr. *χρόμος* 'noise, murmur, neighing', O.C.Sl. *grom-ū* 'thunder'. Skr. *ghōṣ-a-s* 'sound, din' Avest. *gaos-a-* m. 'ear'. Gr. *όλκός* 'dragging, that which drags', *τόμος* 'cut, slice'. Goth. *ga-fah-s* 'capture', *dragk* 'drink'. Lith. *ūš-alka-s* 'outside covering, bed-covering' O.C.Sl. *oblakū* 'cloud'. Gr. *φοή* 'flood', Lith. *srav-à* 'flowing, bleeding'. Gr. *φυγή* Lat. *fug-a* 'flight'. Skr. *bhid-d* 'split, division'. Goth. *gib-a* 'gift'. See § 60 p. 109 ff.

-es- -os- -s-. Skr. *dâsas* 'glorious deed', Gr. *δήνεια* 'counsels, wiles'. Skr. *âpas âpas* 'work, religious performance', Lat. *opus*. Gr. *ῥίγος* Lat. *frīgus* 'cold'. Skr. *dôhas* 'milking', *nâmas* 'obeisance, reverence', Avest. *tacō* 'course'. Gr. *ἡδός* 'pleasure', *αἰδώς* 'brand', *δῖος* 'fear'. Goth. *hatis* 'hate', *agis* 'fear'. Gr. *αἰδώς* 'shame, modesty'. Lat. *tepor, amor*. See § 131 ff. p. 411 ff.

-ien- -tîen- in some European languages. Lat. *cap-iō, religiō*, Goth. *ga-runjō* 'overflow', *sakjō* 'strife'. Lat. *ra-tiō*, Goth. *ra-þjō* 'ratio'. Lat. *men-tiō*, O.Ir. *er-mitiu* 'honor'. See § 100 p. 294 ff., § 112 p. 341 f., § 115 p. 357 ff.

Other suffixes used in the formation of *nomina actionis* will be discussed in §§ 156 and 158.

When the *nomina actionis* had come to denote material objects, they were liable a still further extension of meaning, namely to be used as adjectives (cp. § 154). Here perhaps should

be classed e. g. Skr. *pu-ti-ṣ* 'stinking' and *tapyā-ti-ṣ* 'hot, glowing', originally 'stench' and 'heat, glow'.

Relation of the *nomina actionis* to the Infinitive (Supine)¹.

§ 156. Since the *nomina actionis* denote not merely a continuous activity but also one which may be defined in point of time, they sometimes come to be used in verbal constructions. Here, as in the case of the adjective (§ 144), the connexion with the verb may include the power of governing a case, and of distinguishing differences of time, different kinds of action (such as momentary, continuous, inceptive) and Voice (*diathesis, genus verbi*).

This kind of assimilation to the character and construction of the verb appears e. g. in Gr. *τῇν τοῦ Θεοῦ δόσαν ὑμῖν* (Plat.) 'the gift of God to you', *περὶ δὲ σφίσι καταδουλώσας* (Thuc.) = *περὶ δὲ τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ καταδουλωθῆναι* (τοὺς Ἕλληνας), Lat. *reditus Romam*. But a still more complete identification is seen in what are called infinitives (and supines), which are crystallised cases (generally acc., dat., loc.) of *nomina actionis*. An infinitive may be said to be completely formed when the noun is no longer regarded as a case-form belonging to its own system, and its construction no longer follows the analogy of its original use as a noun; this is true, for example, of Gr. *δομεναι δοῦναι* Lat. *dare*, at the earliest period of which we have record. Before, however, such forms were completely isolated from the nominal system,

1) E. Wilhelm, *De infinitivi linguarum Sanser. Bactr. Pers. Graec. Osc. Umbr. Lat. Got. forma et usu*, 1873. J. Jolly, *Geschichte des Infinitivs im Indogermanischen*, 1873. A. Ludwig, *Der Infinitiv im Veda*, 1871. M. Müller, *Grammatical forms in Sanskrit corresponding to the so-called Infinitives in Greek and Latin*, *Essays* IV 420 ff. H. Brunnhofer, *Über Dialectspuren im vedischen Gebrauche der Infinitivformen*, *Kuhn's Ztschr.* XXV 329 ff. Chr. Bartholomae, *Die Infinitivbildung im Dialect der Gāthā's*, *ibid.* XXVIII 17 ff. L. Meyer, *Der Infinitiv der homer. Sprache*, Göt. 1856. E. Windisch, *Zum ir. Infinitiv*, *Bezenberger's Beitr.* II 72 ff. A. Denecke, *Der Gebrauch des Infinitiva bei den ahd. Übersetzern des 8. u. 9. Jahrh.*, Leipz. 1880. W. Müller, *Über den letto-slavischen Infinitiv*, *Kuhn-Schleicher's Beitr.* VIII 186 ff.

quam (Sen.), *hic verēri* (= *verēcundiam*) *perdidit* (Plaut.). This led on to such constructions as Gr. τὸ λῆναι, Lat. *tuom amāre* (Plaut.), *nostrum istud vivere triste* (Pers.), *nū praeter plōrāre* (Hor.), *quid hūius vivere est?* (Sen.)¹⁾ and so forth. See Paul Princ.² 311 f.

Substantives denoting a quality (Abstract Substantives in the strict sense).

§ 157. Substantives which denote a quality, owe their existence to a metaphor just as do the *nomina actionis*: an attribute or natural quality was regarded as belonging to the class of material objects.

Substantives denoting a quality often come to designate the person to whom the quality belongs, e.g. Mod.H.G. *Jugend* = 'youthful persons, young folk (collectively)' or 'a single youthful person'. [Eng. *youth*]. But it is difficult to maintain any sharp distinction between the separate uses, and therefore the words which show this secondary developement of meaning will be treated along with the rest. It is important also to recognise the fact that no hard and fast line can be drawn between this class of nouns and the *nomina actionis* with their secondary shades of meaning. It is natural enough that the two divisions should often overlap.

The suffixes that most frequently appear in these abstract nouns are the following.

-*tā*-. Avest. *cista*- 'wisdom'. Gr. *πρηνή* 'prudence, understanding'. Lith. *geltà* 'yellowness'. Lat. *juventa* Goth. *junda* 'youth'. Skr. *pūrnatā*- O.H.G. *fullida* O.C.Sl. *plūnota* 'fulness'. Skr. *ghōrata*- 'awfulness' Goth. *gaurīpa* 'trouble'. Skr. *dirghata*- O.C.Sl. *dlīgota* 'length'. In Greek and Slavonic are found concrete nouns like ἀγρότης 'countrymen' *junota* 'youth'. See § 79 p. 220 ff., § 80 p. 238 ff.

-*tāti*- -*tāt*- and -*tūti*- -*tūt*-. Skr. *sarvātāti*-§ *sarvātāt*- 'completeness' Avest. *haurvatāt*- 'safety' Gr. *ὅλότης* 'totality, entirety'. Gr. *νεότης* 'youth', Lat. *novitās* 'novelty, strangeness'.

1) Cp. Wölfflin, Der substantivierte Infinitiv [im Latein], Archiv für lat. Lexikogr. III 70 ff.

Lat. *juventās* and *juventūs*. O.Ir. *oentu* 'unitas'. Goth. *gamāin-dūþ-s* 'communitas'. See § 102 p. 308 ff.

-*nā-*. Avest. *per'nā-* Goth. *fullō* 'fulness'. Skr. *jaraṇḍ* 'decrepitude, age'. See § 65 ff. p. 138 ff.

-*īo-* -*īā-*. Skr. *pālitya-m* 'greyness', *śrāṣṭhya-m* 'excellence'. O.H.G. *gi-fuori* 'fitness, usefulness'. Lith. *ilgi-s* 'length', O.C.Sl. *ostrije* 'sharpness'. Gr. *ἀγνρονίη* 'manliness', *ἀναρχία* 'anarchy'. Lat. *audacia* 'boldness', *modestia* 'moderation', *sapientia* 'wisdom'. See § 63 p. 122 ff.

-*tyo-* -*tyā-*. Skr. *dēvatvā-m* 'divinity', *śucitvā-m* 'purity', *sātmavā-m* 'inspiration, possession by a deity'. Goth. *þivadv* 'servitude', *fiþaþva* 'enmity'. O.C.Sl. *zǣlstvo* 'violence'. See § 61 p. 116 f.

-*ti-*. **penqti-s* 'fivefold character, pentad, the number five': Skr. *pañcakti-ś* O.Icel. *fimt* O.C.Sl. *peti*. Skr. *yuvati-ś* 'maiden' (orig. 'youth' (abstr.) O.H.G. *jugund* 'youth'. O.C.Sl. *dlūgostī* 'length', *qzostī* 'narrowness'. See § 99 p. 293, § 101 p. 306 ff.

-*es-* -*os-*. **reges-* 'gloom, darkness': Skr. *rājas* (Armen. *erek*) Gr. *ἔρεβος* Goth. *riqis*. Skr. *māhas-* 'greatness, size', *yāsas-* 'glory', Gr. *εὐρος* 'breadth', *μῆκος* 'length', *βέρος* 'depth', *μέγες* 'size, greatness'. Lat. *Venus* 'charm of love', *languor* 'weariness', *lėvor* 'smoothness', *dulcor* 'sweetness'. See § 131 ff. p. 411 ff.

In single groups of languages: e. g. Lat. -*tūdin-*, *fortitudo* 'fearlessness', *lassitudo* 'weariness' (cp. § 128 p. 409), Lith. -*ybė-*, *auksztỹbė* 'height, highness', O.C.Sl. -*ba-*, *zǣloba* 'wickedness' (§ 78 p. 217 f.).

The Relation of Adjectives to Abstract Substantives (*nomina actionis* and substantives denoting a quality) formed with the same suffixes.

§ 158. In conclusion we have to discuss another question which bears upon the origin of the substantives denoting an action or a quality and the general relation between adjectives and substantives in Indo-Germanic.

Many nouns formed with *o*-suffixes act both as adjectives and as abstract substantives; as a rule it happens that the

feminine or neuter form. more rarely that the masculine form is the one which is used substantively. If the adjective is a *nomen agentis*, we have a corresponding *nomen actionis*, e. g. Skr. *srutá-s* 'flowing': *srutá-m* n. 'a flowing, flood'. Or if it predicates an attribute, then the corresponding substantive denotes the attribute, e. g. Lith. *gelta-s* 'yellow': *geltù* f. 'yellowness'.

The following are examples.

-to -ta-.

Feminine. Avest. *cistā-* 'wisdom': Skr. *cittā-* parte., in the neut. 'observation, thought, intent, spirit'. Gr. *νῦντις* 'intelligence, wisdom': *νῦντις* 'intelligent'; *γενεή* 'birth, origin': Lat. *genitu-s*; *βροντή* 'thunder'. Lat. *offēnsa* 'a striking against, offence': *offēnsu-s*; *repulsa* 'rejection': *repulsu-s*; *impēnsa* 'expenditure': *impēnsu-s*; *multa* 'punishment': *mulsu-s* instead of **mol(c)tu-s* (the isolation of the substantive from the participle preserved it from the analogical change which affected the latter), Skr. *mṛṣṭā-* 'grasped, touched'. O.Ir. *ed-part ed-bart* 'oblatio': *do-breth* Mid.Ir. 'datum est', (Skr. *bhṛtā-s* Gr. *φειρό-ς*); *loth* 'filth': compare this and the Lat. *lutu-m lutu-s* 'mud' with Lat. *-lūtu-s* (*ab-lūtu-s* etc.) 'besprinkled, soiled'. Goth. *skanda* O.H.G. *scanta* 'disgrace': O.H.G. *scant* 'shamed'; O.H.G. *forahta* 'fear': Goth. *faurht-s* 'fearful'; A.S. *zud* 'battle': Skr. *hatā-* 'smitten'. Lith. *geltā-* 'yellowness': *gelta-s* 'yellow'; *banktos* pl. 'boisterousness, storm': *bankta-s* 'boisterous'. O.C.Sl. *vrīsta* 'condition, state, position, stage': Skr. *vyttā-* 'versus'. The secondary Idg. suffix -ta- in Lat. *juventa* Skr. *pūrnatā* etc. should be added here, see p. 238 ff.

Neuter. Skr. *mṛtā-m* 'death' O.H.G. *mord* 'murder': Skr. *mṛtā-s* 'dead'. Skr. *matā-m* 'meaning, opinion, intent' Lat. *com-mentu-m* 'idea, invention, design' O.Ir. *der-met* 'forgetfulness': Skr. *matā-* 'thought, intended'. Idg. **kley-to-m* 'faculty of hearing' Avest. *sraote-m* Goth. *hliup*: Skr. *śrutā-s* 'heard'. Skr. *srutā-m* 'flowing, flood, stream': *srutā-s* 'flowing'; *stutā-m* 'laudation, praise': *stutā-s* 'praised, lauded'; *manita-m* 'a doing of honour': *manita-s* 'to whom honour is done, honoured'; Avest.

fra-dāte-m 'help, success': *fra-dāta-* 'helped, made'. O.H.G. *ferid* 'navigium'. O.C.Sl. *pqto* 'fetter': partic. *peľū*. Here we must also class Idg. *-my-to-*, as in Skr. *śrōmata-m* 'a listening to' O.H.G. *hlumunt* 'repute, character', Lat. *cōgnōmentu-m*, see p. 249.

Masculine. Skr. *gha-ta-s* 'blow, slaying'. Avest. *stutō* 'laudation, prayer', cp. Skr. n. *stutā-m*. Gr. *xori-ogro-s* 'raising of the dust, cloud of dust': *vé-ogro-s* 'newly arisen' Lat. *ortu-s*; *ēmetro-s* 'vomiting': *ēmetro-s* Skr. *vamita-s* 'vomited'; *σπαρό-s* 'encamped host': Skr. *stṛtā-s* Gr. *σπαρό-s* 'outspread, outstretched'; *ōtro-s* 'fate': Skr. *ēta-s* 'hasting' Lat. *-itu-s*; *πόπρο-s* 'burden': *φειρό-s* 'bearable' Skr. *bhṛtā-s* 'borne'; *θάναρο-s* 'death': *θνηρό-s* 'mortal'; *κακῦρό-s* 'wailing', *κοῖτρο-s* 'couch' (with *κοίτη*) and other exx. Lat. *lectu-s* (and *lectu-m*) 'couch', *lutu-s* (and *lutu-m* 'mud', cp. O.Ir. *loth* f. above. A.S. O.Icel. *sess* 'seat' (cp. Lat. *sub-sessa* f. 'ambush'): Skr. *sattā-s* 'sitting' Lat. *ob-sessu-s*; O.H.G. *giwahrt* 'mention, fame': Skr. *uktā-s* 'spoken'; Goth. *mōþ-s* 'wrath' O.H.G. *muot* 'spirit, temper, courage' beside O.C.Sl. *mě-ti* 'to dare'; O.H.G. *frost* (and O.Icel. *frost* n.) 'frost' beside *friosan* 'to freeze'. Lith. *būta-s* 'dwelling, house': Skr. *bhūtā-s* 'become, been', cp. O.Ir. *both* f. 'dwelling-place, hut' Skr. *bhūtā-m* 'existence with power, welfare, prosperity'; *maĩszta-s* (and *maĩszta*) 'uproar': Gr. *μῑκρό-s* 'mixed'; *τεῖρτα-s* 'enclosure': *τεῖρτα-s* 'grasped, enclosed'; of course these Lithuanian masculine forms may once have been neuter. O.C.Sl. *člūū* 'number' *po-člūū* 'enumeration': Skr. *citā-s* 'arranged in rows or layers', cp. Skr. *citā* 'layer'; *podū-jetū* 'grasp, support' *podū-jetū* 'grasped, undertaken'.

Remark. With regard to the relation of the forms with vocalism of the strong grade to those with that of the weak grade (e. g. O.C.Sl. *pqto* *pęto*) see p. 221 above.

-no- -nā-, -eno- -enā-, -ono- -onā-.

Fem. Avest. *per'nā* Goth. *fullō* 'fulness': Avest. *per'nā* Goth. *full-s* 'full'. Skr. *jaraṇā* 'old age': Skr. *jaraṇā* 'decrepit'. O.H.G. *stulina* 'theft': O.Icel. *stolenn* 'stolen'.

Neut. O.H.G. *zorn* A.S. *torn* 'anger, wrath', orig. 'a torn or rent condition of the temper': Skr. *dīrṇā-s* 'torn to pieces';

O.H.G. *mein* 'falsehood, mischief': *mein* 'false, deceitful'. Skr. *vāhana-m* 'a carrying': *vāhana-s* 'carrying' O.C.Sl. *vezenū* 'carried': *vārtana-m* 'turning, motion': *vartana-s* 'setting in motion'; *māna-m* 'measuring, measurement': *vi-māna-s* 'measuring out'. Goth. *bairan* inf. 'bear': *baúran-s* 'borne'.

Masc. Skr. *uṣṇa-s* (also *uṣṇa-m uṣṇā*) 'heat': *uṣṇá-s* 'hot'. Skr. *yajñá-s* 'reverence': Gr. *ἀγνός* 'worthy of reverence, sacred, pure'. Gr. *θύρο-ς* 'onset, fight': Skr. *dhūna-s* 'violent, agitated'. O.H.G. *scīn* 'visibility, brightness, gleam': *scīn* 'visible'.

-io- -iā-

Fem. Skr. *kṛtyā-* 'infliction, bevitchment': *kṛtya-s* 'faciendus'. Gr. *φρατρία* O.C.Sl. *bratřja* 'brotherhood': Gr. *φρατριο-ς* orig. 'brotherly'. Gr. *ἡσυχία* 'peace': *ἡσυχιο-ς* 'peaceful'; *ξενία* 'hospitality': *ξενιο-ς* 'hospitable'. Lat. *noxia* 'guilt, crime': *noxius* 'guilty, criminal'. O.H.G. *luggi* (which implies a preceding **luz-iō*) O.C.Sl. *lūža* 'lie': O.H.G. *luggi lukki* O.C.Sl. *lūžŭ* 'lying, false'. A.S. *nyt* O.Icel. *nyt-r* 'use, advantage': A.S. *nyt* O.H.G. *nuzzi* 'useful, serviceable'. O.C.Sl. feminines like *suša* 'dryness' *arožda* 'folly', see p. 131.

Neut. Skr. *vācya-m* 'speaking, word, blame': *vācya-s* 'dicendus'; *kṣatriya-m* 'lordship, supremacy': *kṣatriya-s* 'possessing lordship, ruler'. Gr. *αγάγιο-ν* 'offering, beast of offering': *αγάγιο-ς* 'striking, killing'; *ἐλκκηθιο-ν* 'delight, enchantment': *ἐλκκηθιο-ς* 'delighting, enchanting'. Lat. *auguriu-m* 'act of divination, prophecy': *auguriu-s* 'prophetic'. O.H.G. *gi-fuori* 'suitability, usefulness': *gi-fuori* 'suitable, useful'. Furthermore forms like Lith. *kišti-s* 'cut, blow' (: Skr. *kartya-s* 'to be hewn or cut off') etc. no doubt represent original neuters; see p. 124 f.

-ino- -yno-. Examples of neuter forms are O.Pers. *cartana* 'action', loc. *cartanai* used as infinitive, Lat. gen. *dandi* 'of giving': Lat. *dandu-s* 'to be given', Lith. *sūktina-s* 'torquendus'. See p. 161 ff.

-tyo- -tyā-. Neut.: Skr. *kārtva-m* 'task': *kārtva-s* 'faciendus'. Fem.: O.C.Sl. *žetva* 'harvest': Skr. *hāntva-s* 'feriendus'.

-mo- -mā-. Fem.: Gr. *θέρμη* 'warmth': *θερμός* Armen. *ferm* 'warm'. Goth. *miduma* 'midst': O.H.G. *metamo metemo*

'mediocris' Avest. *mađema-* 'medioximus', cp. p. 167. O.C.Sl. *tūma* 'great number', orig. 'strength': Avest. *tāma-* Skr. *tū-tumá-* 'strong', cp. p. 171. Neut.: Avest. *gar-me-m* 'warmth': *gar'ma-* 'warm'. Masc.: Skr. *gharmá-s* 'warmth, heat': Avest. *gar'ma-* Lat. *formu-s* O.H.G. *warm* 'warm'. Goth. *rūms* O.H.G. *rūm* 'room': Goth. *rūm-s* 'roomy'; Mid.H.G. *stīm* 'turmoil, confused masses': Skr. *stīma-s* 'lazy, crawling' *pra-stīma-s* 'thronged, heaped'.

-ro- -rā-. Fem. Skr. *tāmisrā-* Lat. *tenebrae* 'darkness': Mid.Dutch *deemster* O.H.G. *dinstar* 'dark'. Gr. *ἄρχα* 'point, peak': *ἄρχο-ς* 'pointed' O.C.Sl. *ostrū* 'sharp'. Neut. Skr. *ta-misra-m* beside *tāmisrā-*, Gr. *ἄρχο-ν* beside *ἄρχα*. Skr. *chidrá-m* 'perforation, hole, interruption': *chidrá-s* 'perforated'. O.C.Sl. *vedro* 'good weather': *vedrū* 'clear, bright'.

This brief list of examples is enough to justify the conclusion that the fluctuation between the adjectival and substantival value in the *o*-nouns dates from the proethnic period¹). Now in the case of the double usage of the *es*-stems (such as Skr. *máhas-* 'greatness': *mahís-* 'great', Gr. *ψεῖδος* 'lie': *ψευδής* 'lying, false'), which is also proethnic, it can scarcely be doubted that the substantival value is the older, and it would be natural to adopt the same view in the present instance. But no decision is possible until the original meaning of the *a*-suffixes as opposed to the *o*-suffixes has been established. In discussing these (p. 106, 458) we were led to the conclusion that except in a comparatively small group of words (e. g. Lat. *equo-s* *equa*), they had no connexion whatever with the distinction of animal sex. A further consideration may now perhaps be suggested. Is it not precisely in the variation of meaning we have just noticed that we must look for light on the original function of the *o*- and *a*- suffixes?

1) It is still a question for investigation how far this use has been extended in the separate families of languages apart from the direct influence of the original variation of meaning in similar cases which came down from Indo-Germanic (cp. e. g. B. H. Balser, *De linguae Graecae participiis in neutro genere substantive posito*, Lips. 1878, p. 29 ff.).

NOUNS WITHOUT FORMATIVE SUFFIXES (ROOT-NOUNS)¹).

§ 159. The term Root-nouns is applied to those nouns which do not admit of analysis into root and formative suffix. in the termination of whose stem no element can be recognised which is similarly used elsewhere to form noun stems. Whether, however, all the nouns that fall under this definition were from the beginning absolutely simple forms, must be left an open question. Many of them, e. g. Skr. *div-* 'heaven' and Lat. *hiem-* (see below), may have been originally compound forms.

Root-nouns are found in all divisions of Indo-Germanic; they have been preserved most frequently in Aryan and the classical languages. In many instances they lost the special character of their formation and passed into the analogy of some vowel declension (cp. § 56 p. 102 f.), and we may regard this change of declension as the chief cause of their comparatively rare appearance in Armenian and in Germanic²), and of their almost complete disappearance in Balto-Slavonic. Here however we are bound to discuss all the nouns of this kind which occur in the separate languages, when the change of declension has made no difference in their meaning.

The Root-nouns have no simple, clearly marked function (such as that of denoting material things, actions or any other special idea). Even those which are demonstrably proethnic have meanings of different kinds. The uncompounded examples are mostly substantives, and amongst these the nouns denoting an action (fem.) and those denoting the agent preponderate; and in the former group we must include those that are used as

1) Leo Meyer, *Die einsilbigen Nomina im Griech. und Lat.*, Kuhn's Ztschr. V 366 ff.

2) As far as the Germanic is concerned, this exchange of declension has been thoroughly discussed by B. Kahle, *Zur Entwicklung der consonantischen Declination im Germanischen*, Berlin 1887.

Remark 1. Armen. *sirt* and Goth. *hairs* 'heart' represent **kērd-* or **kērd-* (the *ē* being shortened, cp. I § 614 p. 464 f.). What relation does this form bear to *kred-*? In view of this difference and of others, such as Lat. *grex*: Gr. *γίγνεται* (§ 52 p. 94), Gr. *βείπον*: O.C.Sl. *brěbъ* for **žerbъ*, Gr. *φλίγνυ* O.H.G. *blechen* Skr. *bhrđjatē*: Skr. *bhārgas* (cp. also Skr. *draktyāmi* and the like I § 259 p. 212), we may perhaps suppose that the metathesis — under certain conditions — occurred in protoethnic Indo-Germanic.

**ped-* m. 'foot'. Ar. *pad-*: Skr. acc. sing. *pād-am* dat. sing. *pād-ē* loc. pl. *patsú*, Avest. acc. sing. *pād-em* *pād-em* dat. pl. *pad'byō* instr. sing. *pād-a*. Armen. pl. *ot-kē*; by its side we find *ting*, *otin* gen. *otin*. Gr.Dor. *nῶς* (*nῶς*?) *nós* Att. *νοῦς* (the *ov* has not been explained), gen. *νοῦ-ός* etc., instr. sing. Lesb. Boeot. etc. *πεδ-ά* 'after, with', Heracl. *ἑκατὶ-πεδ-ος* 'amounting so 20 feet'. Lat. *pēs ped-is*, Umbr. *peři persi* 'pede' *du-purs-us* 'bipedibus'. In Germanic **ped-* occurs in O.Icel. *fet* n. 'step', **pod-* in A.S. *fæt* 'step'; elsewhere **pōd-*: nom. pl. O.Icel. *fætr* A.S. *fēt* = pr. Germ. **fōt-iz*, loc. sing. A.S. *fet* = pr. Germ. **fōt-i*; Goth. acc. *fōt-u* *fōt-uns* (pr. Germ. *-un -uns* = *-m -ys*, I § 244 p. 203), on the pattern of which was formed nom. sing. *fōt-u-s* etc. (thus the correspondence of the Gothic word with Skr. *pād-ú-ṣ* would be purely accidental). For the ablaut cp. I § 311 p. 249.

Skr. *vāc-* f. 'voice, speech', without vowel gradation (acc. *vāc-am* dat. *vāc-ē*), Avest. *vāc-* *vac-* m. 'speech, word, prayer' (nom. *vāxš* acc. *vāc-em* instr. *vac-a*). Gr. *ὤψ* f. 'voice'. Lat. *vōx* f. 'voice, word', all from *√ meq-* 'speak'. The original paradigm is uncertain, perhaps nom. **uóq(-s)* acc. **uóq-η* loc. **uég-i* dat. **uq-áj*. Cp. I § 314 p. 252 f.

Skr. *bhrđj-* f. 'brightness, gleam' instr. *bhráj-d* (cp. pres. *bhrđj-a-tē*). Gr. *φλόξ* *φλογ-ός* f. 'flame' (cp. pres. *φλέγ-ω*). The root is *bhleg-* (*bhelg-*), cp. Rem. 1 above; the original paradigm of the noun is not clear.

**nas-* 'nas-' 'nose'. Skr. du. *nās-a* instr. sing. *nas-ā*, O.Pers. acc. *nāh-am*. Lat. *nār-em*, which has become an *i*-stem (*nārium* etc.). Cp. also A.S. *nās-āyrlu*, Lith. *nas-raĩ* *nós-i-s*. Originally it formed acc. **nās-η* dat. **nas-áj*. Cp. I § 318 p. 257. We

dahyāu-š and Gr. *παλιός* (for *-γῆς*) should prefer to class this word amongst those containing suffixes, I should offer no objection. It is entirely a matter of convention.

**gōu-s* m. f. 'ox, cow'. Skr. *gāu-š* acc. sing. *gām* and *gāv-am* nom. pl. *gāv-as* loc. sing. *gāv-i* dat. sing. *gāv-ē* instr. pl. *gō-bhiṣ*. Avest. *gāu-š gao-š* acc. *gaṃ gāum* (i. e. *gāv-em*) *gaom* (i. e. *gav-em*) instr. *gav-a gāv-a*. Armen. *kov*, gen. *kovu* (*u*-decl.). Gr. *βοῦ-ς* for **bow-ς* (I § 611 p. 461) acc. Hom. Dor. *βῶν*, gen. *βο(φ)-ός*; the acc. *βούν* is a new formation following *βούς*. Lat. *bōs bov-is* (is this borrowed from some Umbr.-Sama. dialect? see I § 432 Rem. 1 p. 322), Umbr. *bum* 'boven' buf 'boves' *bue* 'bove'; Ital. *bov-* may be Idg. **gou-* or **geu-* (I § 65 p. 52). O.Ir. *bō* gen. *bō*, cp. I § 174 p. 153; kelt. **bōv-* may be either Idg. **gou-* or **geu-* (I § 66 p. 56). O.H.G. *chuo* O.Sax. *kō*, A.S. *cū* O.Icel. *ký-r*; the relation of the vowels presents a difficulty; **kō-* (O.H.G. O.Sax.) may perhaps have been developed out of the acc. pr. Germ. **kōn* = Gr. *βῶν*, and **kū-* (A.S. O.Icel.) may perhaps come from an Idg. stem of the form **gā-* (cp. Skr. *śata-gu-* 'having a hundred cows' Gr. *ἐκατόμ-βη* = **-gu-ā*). The original paradigm may be conjecturally given as follows: nom. sing. **gōu-s* (also possibly a parallel form **gō-s* like **dīz-s*, cp. Gr. *βῶς* beside *βούς*) acc. sing. **gōm* nom. pl. **gōu-es* loc. sing. **gēu-i* dat. sing. **guy-āi* **gu-āi* loc. pl. **gū-sū*.

Skr. *rās* 'property, treasure, riches' acc. *rām* and *rāy-am* instr. pl. *rābhiṣ* nom. pl. *rāy-as* dat. sing. *rāy-ē*, Avest. nom. pl. *rāy-ō* inst. sing. *ray-a* gen. pl. *ray-am*; cp. Skr. *rē-vānt-* 'rich' *ray-t-š* 'property, treasure, riches'. Lat. *rēs rem rē* 'property, thing'. Cp. I § 150 p. 136.

Skr. *kṣām-* f. 'earth': nom. *kṣās* acc. *kṣām* nom. pl. *kṣām-as* loc. sing. *kṣām-i* gen. abl. sing. *kṣm-ās gm-ās jm-ās* instr. sing. *kṣam-d jm-d*. Avest. *zā* acc. *zām* gen. *z'm-ō* instr. *z'm-ā*. Gr. *χθών* f., *χθον-ός* instead of **χθου-ος* (I § 204 p. 172), *χθου-αλό-ς χαμ-αί* (*Maia* for **Xu-āa* **Gu-āa*?). Cp. further Lat. *hum-u-s*, *hom-ō* O.Lat. *hem-ō*, *hūm-anu-s* (probably not for **hūmin-ānu-s*, but formed immediately from **hōm-* and only at a later

sonant, and *-uy- -ij- -yn- -yr- -l-* before those which begin with a vowel. See I § 253 p. 207, § 306 p. 243, § 312 p. 250.

**bhrū-s* f. 'eyebrow' dat. sing. **bhruy-āi*. Skr. *bhrū-ṣ* loc. pl. *bhrū-ṣū* acc. sing. *bhrūv-am* dat. sing. *bhruv-ē*. Gr. *ὀφρῦ-ς* acc. *ὀφρῦ-ν* gen. *ὀφρῦ-ος*; loc. pl. *ὀφρῦου* instead of **ὀφρῦου*. A.S. *brū*. The O.C.Sl. *brūv-ŷ* belongs to the *i*-decl. Compare the parallel forms Gall. *brīva* 'bridge' O.H.G. *brāwa* 'brow' whose common ground-form is **bhrēu-a-*.

**sū-s* 'sow' dat. sing. **snuy-āi*. Gr. *ῥ-ς ῥ-ν ῥ-ός*. Lat. *sū-s sū-bus su-em su-is*, Umbr. sim 'sue' (I § 57 p. 46). O.H.G. *sū* O.Icel. *sý-r*; **snuy-* is perhaps represented by A.S. *suzu* f. 'sow', see Bugge, Paul-Braune's Beitr. XIII 509 f. Cp. the dimin. *sū-qo-* § 88 p. 263.

Gr. *ἰχθῦ-ς ἰχθῦν ἰχθῦ-ος* m. 'fish'. Lith. gen. pl. dial. *šuv-ū*; elsewhere it follows the *i*-decl., *šuv-l-s*. Cp. Armen. *ju-k-n* etc. § 88 p. 263.

Gr. *λ-ς* f. 'power, might' instr. *λ-φι*. Lat. *vl-s vim* for **vl-m* (I § 612 p. 463, § 655, 4 p. 503). **μij-* before sonants seems to have disappeared.

The other instances belong only to single groups of languages: é. g. Skr. *gū-ṣā-s* gen. *-ṣaṇ-as* 'gaining cattle' (*-ṣ-*), *pūr* gen. *pur-ās* 'fortress' (*-l-*).

5. Skr. *jiyā- jiyā-* f. Gr. *βία* f. 'might'. Compare Skr. perf. *ji-jyāu* subst. neut. *jiyāna-m* and perf. *ji-gāy-a* pres. *jāy-a-ti*. Cp. § 8 Rem. 1. p. 20, and Morph. Unt. I 6.

§ 161. Examples from single groups of languages. The largest numbers are found in Aryan, Greek, and Italic.

Aryan. When they denote an action these root-nouns are always feminine.

Skr. *drúh-* f. 'injury, enmity', concrete 'injurer, enemy', Avest. *druj-* f. 'lie', concrete 'fiend (f.)'. Skr. *kṛp-* f. 'figure, appearance', Avest. *kehrp-* f. 'figure, body': cp. Lat. *corp-us*. Skr. *kṣāp-* f. Avest. *xšap-* f. 'night'. Skr. Avest. *ap-* f. 'water': acc. Skr. *āp-am* Avest. *āp-em*, instr. Skr. *ap-ā* Avest. *ap-a* Skr. acc. *khā-m* f. 'source', finds its complement in Avest. *xā* f. 'source',

p. 29). *ῥῶξ ῥωγ-ός* f. 'rift, cleft, split', beside *ῥήγ-νῦ-μῦ*. *ὤψ* 'countenance' acc. *ὤπ-α*; compare *κύκλ-ωψ ἐλέκ-ωπ-της* and *ὀλ-σψ αἰθ-σψ*, which probably shew an old gradation *ὤψ ὤπ-α *ὀπ-ός* etc. *κῶτ* n. 'barley' no doubt for **κῶτῖθ*, cp. *κῶτῖθ*. *θῶς*, gen. *θῶός*, 'jackal' beside *θῆF-* 'run'. *χῶή* 'necessity' (cp. also *ὁμοκλή* 'joint cry, loud cry', *μεσό-δμη* 'intermediate structure, cross-beam'), like *βία* § 160, 5 (Morph. Unt. I 49. 64). *κῶξ κῶεκ-ός* m. a bird, and also 'braggart', beside *κῶέω*, cp. *κῶέκ-α* above. *τῶξ τῶωγ-ός* m. 'gnawer, worm' beside *τῶώγω*. *κῶς κ-ός* m. 'a worm in the corn', like Skr. *dhī-*§ *dhīy-ās*. *κλώψ* m. 'thief' beside *κλέπ-τω*. Further examples are given by Bloomfield, Amer. Journ. of Phil. IX 7 ff.

Italic. Lat. *lēx lēg-is* f. 'law', Osc. *ligud* 'lege' *ligis* 'legibus' Marruc. *lēz* 'lex' or 'leges' Pelign. *lex-e* 'in leges'. Lat. *vās vās-is* n. 'vessel', Umbr. *vas-us* 'vasis' (the preservation of the voiceless *s* in all the cases is perhaps due to the analogy of the nom. acc. sing.). *man-* 'hand', Umbr. *man f* acc. pl., Lat. *man-ceps malluviae* for **man-luviae*, with other exx. (Danielsson, Pauli's Altital. Stud. III 189 f., Duvau, Mém. de la Soc. de lingu. VI 226 f.). The connexion between Lat. *frūx frūg-is* f. 'produce' and Umbr. *frif* acc. 'fruges, frumenta' (I § 57 p. 46) is doubtful, see Pauli Altital. Stud. V 114 f.

Lat. *lūx lac-is* f. 'light'. *nux nuc-is* f. 'nut'. *pix pic-is* f. 'pitch'. *vic-* gen. *vic-is* f. 'change' (beside *vincō*, see Osthoff, Paul-Br. Beitr. VIII 272). *nex nec-is* f. 'death'. *prex prec-is* f. 'prayer'. *op-s op-is* f. 'might, means, power'. *pāx pāc-is* f. 'peace'. *dap-s dap-is* f. 'feast', beside Gr. *dan-ávη* 'expenditure'. *arx arc-is* f. 'citadel'. *faex faec-is* f. 'dregs'. *fauz fauc-is* f. 'throat'. *spē-s*, acc. *spe-m*, f. 'hope'. *re-quiē-s*, gen. *-quiēt*, f. like Skr. *jya-* § 160, 5 (Morph. Unt. I 10). *striz strig-is* f. 'horned owl'. *dux duc-is* m. 'leader'. *vas vad-is* m. 'surety'.

Osc. *far* n. 'far' and Umbr. *far* n. 'far' *farer* 'farris' appears to be a root-noun; *far-*: Lat. *farr-* (for **far(e)s-*, see § 132 p. 413 and p. 420) = Skr. *kṛp-*: Lat. *corpus*.

Old Irish. *bri* 'mountain', *ri* 'king', *bō* 'cow', see § 160. This method of forming noun-stems seems to have died out in

In Sanskrit the case-suffix had the accent, if the verb had no prefix; otherwise the accent fell on the root-syllable. *dṛś-ē* 'to see' *bhuj-ē* 'to enjoy', *nir-djē* 'to drive forth' (Lat. *ag-i*) *ni-námē* 'to bend down'. Avest. *sav-ōi* 'to use' *dar-s-ōi* 'to see'.

Lat. *ag-i* (: Skr. *-djē*), *dīc-i*, *sequ-i* *ūt-i*, hence also *tund-i* *posc-i* *mi-nu-i* etc. in imitation of these forms. A difference in meaning was established between these and the locative forms *agere* etc. (§ 132 p. 418), the latter being distinguished as active, the former as deponent or passive forms; the origin of this process was probably an accidental preponderance of the use of the dative of root-nouns to serve as infinitives in deponent verbs.

-s- sometimes appears between the root-syllable and the dative termination. This is rare in Aryan: Skr. *jī-ṣ-ē* 'to conquer' *-prāk-ṣ-ē* 'to fill, satisfy', Avest. *ā nāšē* 'to bring near', root Avest. *nas-* Gr. *ἐνεγκ-*. Gr. *γράφαι* 'to write' *δείξαι* 'to show'. The -s- is identical with the element which is frequently found in the verb finite after the root-syllable, particularly in the sigmatic aorist, to which it gave its name (it is very possible that it is etymologically identical with the -s- which is used in the formation of noun-stems, § 134 p. 424 ff.; cp. Morph. Unt. III 42 f.); hence in Greek this kind of infinitive was confined to the sigmatic aorist. In Latin we may compare such forms as *da-rī* *fer-rī*.

Remark 1. There are difficulties in determining the relation of the Latin forms in -se -re to those in *-si -ri; several different views are almost equally tenable. If we start by assuming that Latin inherited from an earlier period only forms in *-es-i (*vivere amāre*) *-aī (*agī*) *-s-aī (*dari*), we must suppose that the following are new formations: *dare ferre* on the model of *vivere amāre*, and on the other hand *amāri* following *dari*, *ferri* also instead of *fiere*. But perhaps even in the pre-Italic period there were parallel forms in *-s-i (*da-re*), cp. *dixē scripsē* and Skr. infinitives like *dṛś-i* (see below). Lastly it is also possible that on the analogy of Indic. **aget*: infin. **agesi* (*agit: agere*) the infinitives **es-si* **fer-si* (*esse* and *ferre* respectively) were first formed to correspond to *es-t fer-t* and that then and not before *ferri* was formed on the model of *agi*.

Remark 2. In Old Latin and even later in poetic diction beside the forms in -i and -ri we find equivalent forms in -ier and -rier, as *agier darier*. It has often been assumed that *agier* should be analysed into *agie-r*, -r being the sign of the passive as in *agitur*, and **agie* being the

ship or kinship', cp. *yúj-* 'yoked with, companion'. Compound words of this type were formed in Aryan, Greek and Italic.

Indo-Germanic. Skr. *sa-yuj-*, see above, *manō-yúj-* 'yoked by thought, by mere will', Gr. *σύνεσις* *ómos-évis* 'yoked together, united', especially 'joined in marriage', Lat. *con-jux*. Skr. *viśva-víd-* 'knowing everything', Gr. *νῆις* acc. *νήϊδα* 'not knowing, ignorant'. Skr. *tri-bhúj-* 'threefold, triple' Avest. *qzδ-baj-* 'freeing from distress', Gr. *πρόσφυς* 'fugitive, client'. Skr. *pr̥tandj-* (*pr̥tand-aj-*) 'running in or to battle', Lat. *rēm-ex*. Skr. *muhur-gtr-* 'devouring suddenly', cp. Gr. *ὠμοφάγος* 'devouring raw' gen. *-βρω-τος* etc., see I § 306 p. 242, § 312 p. 250. II § 123 p. 391.

I may add a few examples taken from the separate groups of languages.

Aryan. Skr. *vytra-hán-* Avest. *ver'bra-jan-* 'slaying Vritra': acc. Skr. *-hán-am* Avest. *-jan-em* dat. Skr. *-ghn-ē* Avest. *ṇn-ē* loc. pl. Skr. *-há-su*. Skr. *upastha-sād-* 'sitting in the lap', Avest. *armaṣ-sād-* 'sitting quiet'. Skr. *úd-ānc-* 'turned or directed upwards' acc. sing. *úd-ānc-am* loc. pl. *úd-ak-ṣu*, *ny-ānc-* Avest. *ny-anc-* 'turned or directed downwards', cp. Gr. *πρό-αν-ός* 'coming whence' Lat. *prop-ingu-o-s long-ingu-o-s* (cp. I § 228 p. 195); the Sanskrit and Avestic declension of words containing *-ānc-* (Whitney Skr. Gr. § 407 ff., Bartholomae Handb. § 192, J. Darmesteter, Le suffixe *-ac-* en Iranien, Mém. de la Soc. de de lingu. III 302 ff.) shows many new formations, partly caused by a confusion with forms which had the suffix *-ga-* (see § 86 p. 256). Skr. *satya-yáj-* 'duly honouring, duly offering' Avest. *daēva-yaz-* 'honouring the demons, offering to them'. Avest. *na-zd-* Skr. *nēd-*, only in compar. and superl., see § 135 p. 431.

In Sanskrit, compounds of this kind are very common. Any root could be used in this way. We may add as further examples *su-dṛś-* 'seeing well', *sahō-vṛdh-* 'increasing strength', *purō-yúdh-* 'fighting before', *purō-bhū-* 'being in front, surpassing'. In Iranian too this kind of formation remained in active use, cp. *vohu-var'z-* 'working good', *ahūm-mer'c-* 'slaying, injuring the world' (also *-mer'nc-*, cp. Skr. *yuj-* Gr. *λύγξ* p. 487).

Greek. *ψευσι-στυξ* 'hating deceit'. *οινό-φλυξ* 'drunken with wine, wine-bibbing' (cp. I § 427 p. 314, § 428 p. 316). *χέρ-νιψ* 'water for the hands' originally 'washing the hands', *ὑπό-δρα* for **-δραx* neut. adv. 'looking from below upwards', cp. Skr. *dyá-* f. 'sight, aspect'. Here perhaps we may class *δεύρο* (which hitherto has never been satisfactorily explained) if it stands for **δε-φρον* 'inclined hither', compare *ἐέπω* 'I incline' *ἐοπή* 'inclination, sinking, direction'; *v* is regular, as in *καλα-ῦρον*; *δεύρω* Hom. *Γ* 240 may be for **δε-φρων*; more probably it is only a reformation on the model of *ἄνω πρόσω* and the like.

Italic. Lat. *jūdex* 'declarer of the law, judge' for **jouz-dic-s* (I § 33 Rem. 1 p. 33, § 594 p. 450), Osc. med-diss *med-dis* 'meddix' (I § 501 p. 368); in spite of its abbreviated form metd. which occurs once, I should prefer not to separate the first part of the Oscan word from Umbr. *mei-s mers* 'ius, fas' (§ 132 p. 418). Lat. *prae-ses -sid-is. tubi-cen -cin-is. libri-pēns -pend-is. redux -duc-is.*

Remark. For *arti-fex opi-fex* see § 85 p. 254.

Germanic. O.H.G. *ort* O.Icel. *odd-r* 'point' may have been a compound of this kind, standing for **ud+dhē* 'upraise, lift on high' (I § 536 Rem. p. 392); it is however quite conceivable that the original form was **ud+dh-o-*, with the suffix *-o-*, which in this position would date from a very early period.

By the same author: Prof. K. BRUGMANN

8°. XX, 561 pp. cloth. Price 18s.

A
COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR

of the

INDOGERMANIC LANGUAGES

Vol. I. Introduction and Phonology

translated from the German

by

Joseph Wright, Ph. D.

London.

Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co.

David Nutt.

New-York.

Westermann & Co.

By the translator, R. SEYMOUR CONWAY B. A.

8vo. 5s.

VERNER'S LAW IN ITALY,

an Essay in the History of the Indo-European Sibilants.

'The method is rigidly scientific and Mr. Conway is fully entitled to the credit of a good working hypothesis. . . . The essay deserves a cordial welcome, not only for what it contains, but also as a promise of excellent work in the future.'

Prof. A. S. Wilkins in *The Academy*.

'Mr. Conway has an excellent case, and an array of evidence admirably collected and marshalled.'

The Classical Review.

'Mr. Conway's book is worthy of all praise. In formulating his law he has shown a mind keenly sensitive to linguistic phenomena. In working up his material he shows thorough acquaintance with the most advanced German authorities and the conscientious painstaking of a true scholar. Aside from the main line of his investigations many questions are touched suggestively and helpfully. . . . We predict many more papers of value from Mr. Conway's pen.'

The American Journal of Philology.

'Der etwas sonderbare Titel dieser höchst beachtenswerthen Untersuchung erklärt sich aus dem Bestreben des Verfassers, die Verschiedenheit in der Behandlung von intervocalischem *s* im Lateinischen in ähnlicher Weise zu erklären, wie man seit Verner's schöner Entdeckung das Verhältnis von ahd. *nasa bar* zu altalov. *nasû barû* sich zurechtlegt. ... Die Untersuchung, welche von ernsten lautphysiologischen und sprachgeschichtlichen Studien zeugt begründet die Aufstellungen in scharfsinniger Weise Auf jeden Fall ist die Arbeit ein werthvoller und interessanter Beitrag zur altitalischen Lautlehre.'

Gustav Meyer in *Literarisches Centralblatt*.

'Au point de vue de la conscience et de la methode, de l'érudition et de la variété des connaissances, peu d'essais de Linguistique indo-européenne méritent plus d'attention et d'éloges que celui de M. CONWAY.... En tout état de cause l'auteur garde le mérite d'avoir complètement exploré un domaine jusqu'à présent peu connu, et enrichi la science de résultats nouveaux gagnés au cours de sa consciencieuse enquête.'

Victor Henry in the *Revue critique*.

Nearly Ready, by R. SEYMOUR CONWAY B. A.

The Italic Dialects

I. Text of the Inscriptions

(*Umbrian, Volscian, the oldest Latin, Faliscan, Sabine, Oscan etc.*)
with the Dialect Glosses in Latin Authors, the Local Names, a
Dialect Map, and a Conspectus of Italic Antiquities.

II. An Italic Lexicon.

London.

Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. Limited.

